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THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS

PART I

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BUNYAN

THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS

GRACE ABOUNDING

AND

A RELATION OF HIS IMPRISONMENT

EDITED WITH BIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

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LATE PRECENTOR AND CANON OF LINCOLN

SECOND EDITION, REVISED

BY

MABEL PEACOCK

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

NOTE

THE present edition of Part I of *The Pilgrim's Progress* is taken without change from the complete edition of *The Pilgrim's Progress, Grace Abounding, etc.* by Edmund Venables (Second Edition, revised by Mabel Peacock, 1900). Occasional references will therefore be found to pages of the original book which are not included in the present extract; these are not important, and if the complete edition is not available for reference they may be ignored.



BUNYAN'S MEETING-HOUSE, SOUTHWARK.

BIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION.

THE birthplace of John Bunyan was Elstow, a small village rather more than a mile to the south of the town of Bedford. The original form of the name of Elstow was *Ellen-stow*, the *stow*¹ or place of St. Helen, one of our few early British saints, the mother of the Emperor Constantine, under whose patronage the village was originally placed. Elstow was the seat of a Benedictine nunnery, founded in 1078 by Judith, niece to William the Conqueror, and widow of Waltheof, Earl of Huntingdon; and Elstow nunnery, or abbey, continued to rank among the most wealthy of similar foundations till the Dissolution. The abbey was surrendered to the crown Aug. 26, 1540. The sisters had pensions granted to them out of the estates, and several of them continued to live quietly close to their old home in the town of Bedford. The register of the united parishes of St. Mary and St. Peter Dunstable in that town contains the entry of the burial of four of them. The monastic property passed to Sir Humphrey Ratcliffe, brother to the Earl of Sussex, who made the convent his place of residence. He died there in 1566, and was buried in the chancel. From the Ratcliffes the property passed to the Hillersdens, by whom a mansion was erected early in the seventeenth century, which

¹ The Anglo-Saxon *stow*, a dwelling-place or habitation, forms an element in many local names.

must have been a grand new house in Bunyan's early days. The ivy-clad ruins form a picturesque feature on the south side of the church. Attached to the south-west corner is a beautiful little apartment of the fourteenth century, vaulted from a central pillar, which may have been the chapter-house. The church, so intimately connected with Bunyan's history, which is only the nave of the abbey church, is a building of unusual loftiness and dignity, partly rude Norman, partly Early English, with five well-proportioned arches, and an Early English clerestory. The octagonal font, in which we may conclude that John Bunyan was himself baptized, as we learn from the parish registers his two daughters, Mary (his beloved blind child) (July 20, 1650) and Elizabeth (April 14, 1654) certainly were, stands at the west door, but originally stood in the north aisle, facing the entrance door. The seat assigned by long-standing tradition to John Bunyan is an old open oaken bench in the north aisle, facing the pulpit, and polished by the hands of the thousands of visitors yearly attracted to this little village by the fame of the tinker of Elstow. As the seat now faces south instead of east, it must have been moved from its original position. The pulpit, of a pentagonal form, must be looked on with no common interest, as that from which the sermon was preached by Christopher Hall, the then 'parson' of Elstow, which first awoke Bunyan's slumbering conscience. The tower, or 'steeple-house,' the scene of Bunyan's bell-ringing exploits, as well as of the fierce struggles of conscience so graphically described (*Grace Abounding*, §§ 33, 34), is a massive detached structure strongly buttressed, standing twenty-one feet from the church at its north-west corner. It is of late Perpendicular work, built after the destruction of the central tower and choir of the monastic church. The five bells that hang in it are the same in which Bunyan so much delighted. Tradition says that the fourth bell is the one he was accustomed to ring. The rough flagged floor, all worn and broken with the hobnailed boots of generations of ringers, happily remains undisturbed. The 'steeple-door' is in all respects the same as when he used to stand in it, hoping 'if a bell should fall' he could 'slip out' safely behind the thick walls, which show as little tendency to ruin as in Bunyan's days.

The church stands on the south side of the village green, a wide expanse of turf, very little altered either in its character or surroundings from the time when John Bunyan was the ring-leader of all the youth of the place in the dances on the sward, 'tipcat,' and the other sports which his morbid conscience afterwards regarded as 'ungodly practices.' Few villages are so little modernized as Elstow. The old half-timbered cottages with overhanging storeys, gabled porches and peaked dormers, tapestried with roses and honeysuckles, must be much the same as in the days of the Commonwealth. On the green may still be seen the stump of the ancient market cross, and at the upper end is a quaint old brick and timber building, with well-carved corner-posts and spars supporting the jutting upper-storey, which in former days, when Elstow was a more important place than now, served as a market-house, or moot-hall. In the large upper room the village dancers held their revels when the cold of winter drove them in from the green. The cottage where Bunyan was born, if its site was ever accurately known, has long since passed away. That occupied by him after his first marriage, and where his children were born, is still standing, but modern repairs have robbed it of all its picturesqueness.

✓ John Bunyan was born in the year 1628, a year remarkable in English history for the 'Petition of Right,' and the assassination of the Duke of Buckingham. His father was a tinker ('a mender of pots and kettles,' writes Charles Doe), or what we should now call a 'whitesmith,' or 'brazier,' for he had a settled home at Elstow. Still, as we know from contemporary literature¹, his calling was low and disreputable, 'of that rank,' in his own words, 'that is the meanest and most despised in the land.' Although the surname of Bunyan has now almost died out in Bedfordshire, it is of long-standing there, and was at one time very common². This effectually dispels the idea alluded to with favour by Sir Walter Scott, that Bunyan was of gypsy descent, to establish which a good deal of misdirected learning

1. ¹ See note referring to p. 297, l. 8.

² Dr. Brown has proved from the evidence of assize-rolls, manorial court-rolls, wills, and other historical documents, that at one time the Bunyans were a yeoman family of good position. *John Bunyan: His Life, Times, and Work*, by John Brown, B.A., 1885.

and research has been employed. Bunyan's inquiry of his father whether he was descended from the Israelites or no (*G. A.* § 18), is entirely beside the mark; for there is no reason to suppose that he could have had any acquaintance with the strange hallucination that the gypsies are to be regarded as the representatives of the ten lost tribes. The name Bunyan appeared in many different forms in those days of unsettled orthography and phonetic spelling. Bunyan himself spelt it in several different ways. In the parish register of Elstow we find Bonion, Bunion, Bonyon, Bunyon, and Bunyan. The last form, which has become universally accepted, is certainly the least frequent.

Poor as his parents were they did not neglect to send their son John to school. However, he learnt but little, and that little he confesses with shame he soon lost, 'almost utterly.' His handwriting, as exhibited in the margin of the copy of Fox's *Acts and Monuments*, which was his companion in prison, is a vile scrawl, on a par with the badness of the spelling and the rudeness of his doggerel rhymes. His boyhood was spent in his native village, where he grew up what Coleridge calls 'a bitter blackguard'; having, according to his own confession, 'but few equals' even when a child 'for cursing, swearing, lying, and blaspheming the name of God.' The unmeasured language in which he laments his youthful misdeeds has led to a very mistaken estimate of his character, which, handed on from one writer to another until it became almost a matter of faith, Southey was the first to demolish. 'The wickedness of the tinker,' he writes, 'has been greatly overcharged, and it is taking the language of self-accusation too literally to pronounce of John Bunyan that he was at any time depraved.' It is certain from his own solemn declaration when, at a later period of his life, charges of immorality were brought against him, that he was entirely guiltless of sins of impurity (*G. A.* § 313-317). There is not a shadow of evidence that he was ever drunk in his life. He acknowledges to a habit of profane swearing, acquired when a child, and indulged in without restraint till after his marriage, so that he became celebrated as 'a town-swearer'; shocking those who were by no means spotless themselves with the abundance and vehemence of his oaths. But the offences of which he speaks with the deepest

self-condemnation were the very venial crimes of dancing, bell-ringing, ballad-reading, and an eagerness for all kinds of sports and pastimes. True they were practised on the Sunday. According to the standard of the *Book of Sports*, however, that was a merit rather than a crime. But while to the ordinary observer Bunyan would only be known as a gay, daring young fellow, the ringleader at wake or merrymaking, ready, in Coleridge's words, 'to curse his own or his companions' eyes on slight or no provocation, and fond of a row,' from his earliest years his inner life, known only to himself, had been of a very different complexion. While still a child, 'but nine or ten years old' he was racked with convictions of sin and haunted with religious terrors. He specially mentions 'the fearful dreams and dreadful visions' which scared and affrighted him in his childhood, and 'the apprehension of devils and wicked spirits' coming to carry him off which made his bed a place of terrors. The thought of the Day of Judgement and the doom of the ungodly crushed his spirit. In the midst of his games and pastimes with other boys—'vain companions' his morbid feelings led him to call them—the recollection of these nightly horrors threw a cloud over his merriment. But it was only a passing shadow. After a while his feverish dreams left him, and the youthful pleasures to which he gave himself up unrestrainedly quickly cut off all remembrance of them as if they had never been. They, however, left their mark, and helped to shape his mind, which was naturally one of powerful imagination and vivid susceptibility, for the task which has made him famous.

The preservation of his life more than once under circumstances of imminent danger—'judgements mixed with mercy' as he afterwards termed them—deepened the undercurrent of religious feeling. Twice he fell into the water and hardly escaped drowning. At another time his reckless daring brought him, as he mistakenly thought, near being stung to death by an adder¹. But that which made the greatest impression upon him—'which,' says his anonymous biographer, 'Mr. Bunyan would often mention, but never without thanksgiving to God'—was the one incident preserved to us from his life as a soldier.

¹ G. A. § 12 and note.

It is best told in his own words—'When I was a soldier I with others were drawn out to go to such a place to besiege it. But when I was just ready to go, one of the company desired to go in my room; to which when I consented he took my place, and coming to the siege, as he stood sentinel, he was shot in the head with a musket bullet and died' (*G. A.* § 13). We wish he had told us more. The name of the besieged place, and even the cause for which he took up arms, are left in complete obscurity. In the absence of definite information fancy has taken the place of fact, and a historical fabric has been built on a very sandy foundation. Leicester being the only town of the siege of which we have any certain evidence at this time suggested that it might have been the place referred to by Bunyan. An examination of the military history of the campaign, as has been shown by Dr. Brown¹, leads to a very different conclusion, and proves that it is most improbable that a levy from Bedford should have served at Leicester, especially on the Royalist side².

¹ *Book of the Bunyan Festival*, pp. 4-7.

² In 1896 Mr. E. G. Atkinson, of the Public Record Office, discovered there a volume containing the muster-rolls of the parliamentary garrison of Newport Pagnell. John Bunyan's name appears in these lists. On November 30, 1644, he was sentinelle, or, as it was then termed, a 'centinel,' in the company commanded by Colonel Richard Cockayne. On March 22, 1645, he appears in the list of Major Boulton's company; and he was regularly mustered in Major Boulton's company up to May 27, 1645. His presence at Newport on May 27, 1645, renders the theory that he was at the siege of Leicester impossible. According to Mr. Atkinson, Bunyan was still a member of one of the companies belonging to the Newport garrison as late as June 17, 1647. His military service, therefore, lasted about three years.

Facsimiles of the muster-rolls containing Bunyan's name are given in *The Presbyterian* for March 3, 1898.

Colonel Richard Cockayne, under whom Bunyan served, appears to have been a Bedfordshire man of some note. See Ed. Husband, *A Collection of Orders, Ordinances, and Declarations*, 1646 (vol. ii), p. 193; Whitelock, *Memorials*, ed. 1732, p. 168; ed. 1853, vol. i. p. 501. A book entitled *Cockayne Memoranda*, printed for private circulation in 1869 at Congleton, contains an account of the various branches of the Cockayne family. A second volume of the work by the same author, A. E. Cockayne, appeared in 1873.

When Bunyan's military career was over he soon returned to his native village, and 'presently afterwards changed his condition into a married state.' The date of this, his first marriage, is not known, but it seems to have been at the end of 1648 or the beginning of 1649, when he was not much more than twenty years of age. His marriage was a most imprudent one in all respects but one. He had nothing, and his wife was as ill-provided with worldly goods as himself — 'as poor as poor might be,' 'as poor as owlets,' to adopt his own image — without 'so much household stuff as a dish or spoon between them.' But though not seeking it he had the good fortune to light on a wife whose 'father while he lived was counted godly,' and who brought to her new home two pious books, as well as the fruits of a religious training. Such books would be entirely new reading to John Bunyan. Like most young fellows of his temperament, before his wife's loving influence had won him to more serious thoughts, he had found religious books distasteful. 'The Scriptures,' thought I, 'what are they? a dead letter, a little ink and paper of three or four shillings price. Give me a ballad, a news book, *George on horseback*, or *Bevis of Southampton*; give me some book that teaches curious arts, that tells of old fables¹.' These books which Bunyan and his young wife read together over the fireside awoke the slumbering sense of religion in his heart, and produced some external reformation. A sermon on the sin of Sabbath-breaking, aimed, as he imagined, expressly at him, sent him home conscience stricken, 'sermon smitten,' and 'sermon sick,' as he expresses it elsewhere. But his Sunday's dinner, and perhaps a good glass of ale, soon dispelled his gloom, and he went out as before to play with the young men of Elstow on the village green. Yet in the midst of his game of tipcat or 'sly' he seemed to hear a voice from heaven asking him whether he would leave his sins and go to heaven, or keep his sins and go to hell; and thought he saw a threatening Face frowning down on him from the clouds. But, like his own Hopeful, he 'shut his eyes against the light' and smothered the reproaching voice, and concluding that his condemnation was already sealed, and that if he was to be eternally lost, he might as well have his fill of pleasure first, he returned desperately

¹ *Sighs from Hell*: Works, vol. i. p. 501, ed. 1767.

to his sport again (*G. A.* §§ 20-24). This despair and recklessness lasted with him about a month or more, till one day as he was standing at a neighbour's shop window, cursing and swearing, and playing the madman after his wonted manner, the woman of the house, though 'a very loose and ungodly wretch,' rebuked him so severely as 'the ugliest fellow for swearing that ever she heard,' that he hung down his head with shame, and though he still thought himself beyond hope of salvation, he then and there gave up the evil habit (*G. A.* §§ 26-28).

Soon after this the company of a poor godly neighbour led him to the study of the Bible, the historical parts of which he perused with much interest. St. Paul's Epistles and 'such like scriptures' he 'could not away with.' This Bible reading forwarded the reformation of life already begun. 'In outward things,' writes Lord Macaulay, 'he soon became a strict Pharisee;' 'a poor painted hypocrite' he calls himself. He was constant in attendance at prayers and sermons, and joined devoutly in the service, looking with the utmost reverence on the Church and all belonging to it, 'priest, clerk, vestment, service, and what else.' His favourite amusements were one after another given up, though not without severe struggles. Bell-ringing was one of the hardest to relinquish, and after he had renounced it, he still went to look on at the ringers until the fear that if he persisted in sanctioning what his conscience condemned, a bell or the tower itself would fall on his head, compelled him to forego even that compromise. Dancing was still harder to give up. It was a full year before he could quite leave that (*G. A.* §§ 33-35).

But with all his sacrifices, which gained him great peace of conscience and supreme self-satisfaction, the conversation of a few poor women whom he overheard one day at Bedford when engaged in his tinker's craft, sitting at a door in the sun and talking of the things of God, showed him that he was still a stranger to vital religion. They were members of the congregation of Mr. John Gifford, who, from being one of the most debauched of the Royalist officers, had become minister of a Non-conformist Church at Bedford¹. He himself had been 'a brisk talker' in the matters of religion, such as he afterwards drew

¹ *G. A.* § 77 and note.

from the life in his own 'Talkative.' Their words, spoken with 'such pleasantness, and such appearance of grace,' opened 'a new world' to him to which he had been altogether a stranger. He went again and again into their company, and could not stay away (*G. A.* § 37). Religion became all in all to him. His mind 'lay fixed on eternity like a Horse-leech at the vein.' The Bible became 'precious' to him, and was read with new eyes; but through his ignorance, and the want of wise spiritual guidance, he was led by a misinterpretation of its words into strange fantasies, the wild coinage of his own brain, which went near to unsettle his intellect. He became the victim of his own ingenuity in self-torment. At one time the stress laid on faith as the essential requisite for salvation awoke a restless longing to determine whether he had faith or no. The test would be his ability to work miracles, and the temptation came strong upon him as he was going along the muddy road between Elstow and Bedford, to say to the puddles 'Be dry,' and to the dry places "Be ye puddles," and to stake his hope of salvation on the issue (§ 51). At another time he was harassed with the insoluble questions about predestination and election. 'How could he tell if he was elected? and if not, what then?' He might as well leave off and strive no further (§ 59).

Few of his religious experiences were the cause of more lasting trouble to him than a dream which he describes with much vividness, and which gives us a kind of prevision of the Pilgrim's Progress. In this he saw some enjoying themselves in the sunshine on one side of a high mountain, while he was shivering in the dark and cold on the other, and shut out from them by a high wall, with only a small gap in it which he had the greatest difficulty in struggling through (§ 53). Stranger fantasies still assailed him. 'All thought their own religion true. Might not the Turks have as good ground for thinking Mahomet their Saviour as the Christians had for Jesus Christ? What if all we believed in should be but "a think-so too?"' (§ 97). He had hard work to hinder himself from praying to everything about him, to the bushes, to a broom, to a bull, or even to Satan himself (§ 108). He wished himself a dog or a toad which had no soul to perish (§ 104), and when he would have given a thousand pounds for a tear could not shed one (§ 105). He was pursued by a hideous temptation to

blaspheme God and Christ and the Holy Spirit, and to commit the unpardonable sin (§ 103). At last he believed he had committed it, and a good but not over-wise man whom he consulted on his sad case told him 'he verily believed he had' (§ 180). The perusal of a copy of Luther's Comment on the Galatians which fell into his hands, 'so old that it was ready to fall to pieces if he did but turn it over,' proved a balm for his wounded conscience, for it seemed 'written out of his own heart,' and awoke a burning love for his Saviour (§ 129). But the joy and peace were but transient. 'The tempter came on him again; and that with a more grievous and dreadful temptation than before.' This crisis of his spiritual disease came in an almost irresistible impulse to give up his Saviour and all share in his redemption. Wherever he was, whatever he was doing, day and night, in bed, at table, at work, a voice would sound in his ears bidding him 'sell Christ' for some earthly good. At length, utterly worn out by the torturing suggestions of his mind, he let the fatal words slip from him, as he lay on his bed, 'let Him go if He will' (§§ 135-140). This to his diseased imagination sealed his doom. He had sold his birthright like Esau; he had betrayed his Lord like Judas. There was no longer any place for repentance. He was past all recovery, and bound over to eternal punishment.

It is not to be wondered at that his health gave way in such a lengthened struggle. His sturdy frame was seized with a constant trembling. He would wind and twist and shrink under his burden. His digestion became disordered, and the pain was so violent that it seemed as if his breast-bone would have split asunder. His overwrought fancy suggested that God had set a mark on him as on Cain, and that he was about to burst in the midst like Judas (§ 164). As a skilful self-tormentor Bunyan rivalled the most rigid ascetics, and his agonies were the more terrible as being inflicted on his soul rather than on his body.

All this time Bunyan was a member of Gifford's little congregation. But the teaching he received was ill adapted to lessen his burden. Its principle was constant introspection, and scrupulous weighing of every word and deed and even of every thought. Instead of leading the mind off from self to the Saviour. This 'horror of great darkness' broken by intermittent gleams of

heavenly light, not lasting, but 'like to Peter's sheet of a sudden caught up to heaven again' (§ 113), continued more than two years and a-half. This period was one continued spiritual ague; hot and cold fits alternating with fearful suddenness; 'as Esau beat him down, Christ raised him up.' At the end of this period the clouds gradually dispersed. He allowed himself to believe that he had not committed the unpardonable sin; that he was not quite a castaway. He began to read his Bible as a whole, carefully noting how the different portions bore on and explained one another, 'comparing spiritual things with spiritual.' And now remained only the hinder part of the tempest, for the thunder was gone past, only some drops did still remain' (§ 228). And when one day, in the field, 'fearing lest yet all was not right,' the words 'thy righteousness is in heaven' fell upon his soul; 'methought,' he says, 'I saw with the eyes of my soul Jesus Christ at God's right hand. There was my righteousness.' Then his chains fell off in very deed. He was loosed from his affliction. His temptations fled away, and he went on his way rejoicing. Like his own Christian when delivered from his burden at the foot of the cross 'he gave three leaps for joy,' and cried 'with a merry heart, he hath given me rest by his sorrow and life by his death' (§ 230).

Bunyan, having now found peace and comfort, climbed the hill Difficulty and passed the Lions, entered the House Beautiful, and formally united himself to the little congregation under Mr. Gifford, the prototype of his Evangelist, to which belonged the poor women—the Piety, Prudence, and Charity, of his immortal narrative, known in their own little Bedford world as 'sister Bosworth, sister Munnes, and sister Fenne;'—whose pleasant words on the things of God as they sat in the sun, 'as if joy did make them speak,' had first opened his eyes to his spiritual ignorance (§ 253). The earliest records of this church, according to Dr. Brown, do not commence till 1656, six years after its formation, and three years after the date given by Charles Doe for his baptism. He does not mention this himself, ~~but~~ it is stated by Doe to have been performed publicly, in 1653, by Mr. Gifford in the river Ouse, the 'Bedford river' where he had once escaped drowning. He was also admitted to the Holy Communion. This ordinance was at first a source of much com-

fort to him, but before long his old temptation returned upon him, and it was only by force he could keep himself from blaspheming the Sacrament and cursing his fellow-communicants (§ 253)¹. His name occurs in the first extant list of members of Mr. Gifford's little community, 'all ancient and grave Christians'; and there are about a dozen references to him in the church books up to his imprisonment in 1660. About this time 'Captain Consumption' who killed 'Mr. Badman' (one of his most powerfully drawn characters), threatened Bunyan's life; but his naturally robust constitution 'routed his forces' and carried him through what at one time he anticipated would prove a fatal illness (§ 255). 'The tempter took advantage of his bodily weakness to attack him with his former doubts; but after considerable alternation of hope and fear, faith prevailed. It was not long before Bunyan was proposed as a deacon of the little brotherhood, and he began to exercise his gift of exhortation first privately, and as he gained courage and acceptance 'in a more publick way.' In 1656 holy Mr. Gifford died, leaving behind him an exhortation to his congregation to mutual charity and forbearance, breathing, as Southey has said, 'a wise, tolerant, and truly Christian spirit.' The year after his death Bunyan's powers as a preacher were formally recognized; and in 1657 an entry in the church-book records

¹ In the same year we find the name, John Bunyan, appended to a memorial existing among the Milton papers, from the people of Bedford 'to the Lord Generall Cromwell, and the rest of the Councell of the Army,' recommending two gentlemen to form part of his intended Council after he had dissolved the Long Parliament (Offor's Life; *Works*, vol. iii. p. xxx). There are thirty-six names, and this stands the fourteenth. The difference of the handwriting in this signature and in those which are undoubtedly his, together with the improbability that a working tinker who had so recently joined the Church should have gained sufficient consideration to warrant his affixing his signature among magistrates, incumbents of parishes, and other persons of substance and position, renders it very improbable that it is the name of the author of the *Pilgrim's Progress*. Dr. Brown states that there were at least three other John Bunyans living in Bedford in 1653, who from social position would have been more likely to have signed this document. Though accepted by Mr. Offor, this signature was regarded with grave doubt by Mr. Bruce, the eminent Treasurer of the Society of Antiquaries, to which body these MSS. belong.

that 'brother Bunyan being taken off by the preaching of the Gospel' another member was made deacon in his room. Bunyan was regularly set apart as a preacher of the Word, after the ritual of the Nonconformists, 'after solemn prayer and fasting'; not however so much for Bedford itself, as to itinerate through the villages round about. He still continued to work at his tinkering craft for a livelihood. He soon became famous as a preacher, and people flocked by hundreds from all parts to hear him, though 'upon sundry and divers accounts,' some, as Southey writes, 'to marvel, and some perhaps to mock; but some also to listen and to be touched with a conviction that they needed a Saviour.' But he was not permitted to preach unmolested. Venner's insurrection in 1657 awoke a feeling of insecurity in the public mind and aggravated the prejudice against Baptists and Quakers, in spite of their protestations of loyalty and disavowal of the principles of the Fifth Monarchy; 'the doctors and priests of the county did open wide against him,' and in 1658 an indictment was preferred against him at the assizes at Eaton. It will be borne in mind that this took place before the Restoration, when Cromwell was still Protector¹. But as Dr. Brown observes, 'religious liberty had not come to mean liberty all round, but only liberty for a certain recognized section.' That there was much prosecution during the Protectorate is clear from the history of the Quakers, to say nothing of the intolerant treatment of Roman Catholics and Episcopālians. In Bunyan's own county Quakeresses were sentenced to be whipped and sent to Bridewell for reproving a parish priest, perhaps well deserving of it, and exhorting market-folks to repentance and amendment of life. Even the holy and peaceful Philip Henry was presented in the September of this year at the Flint assizes. 'The simple truth is,' writes Mr. Southey, 'all parties were agreed in the one Catholic opinion that certain doctrines were not to be tolerated'; the only point of difference between them was 'what those doctrines were,' and how far intolerance might be carried. How Bunyan came to escape we do not know. But we hear no more of the indictment, which indeed he does not mention, and of which we should have remained in ignorance but

¹ *Book of the Bunyan Festival*, p. 8.

for the entry in the church-book appointing a day of prayer with reference to that and other urgent matters. Bunyan's celebrity as a preacher aroused other enemies besides those set in motion by the law. Slanders of the blackest dye were circulated with regard to his moral character: it was rumoured up and down that he was 'a witch, a Jesuit, a highwayman,' that he had 'two wives at once,' and lived a life of gross immorality. These calumnious charges called forth that vehement vindication of himself, to which reference has already been made, in which, in the most solemn manner, he declares his absolute innocence as regards sins of licentiousness, and the purity, in this respect, of his whole life, calling not on men only but on angels to prove him guilty if they could (*G. A.* §§ 313-317).

We approach now the great crisis in Bunyan's life, but for which his name would have passed away and been forgotten, together with those of thousands of preachers as earnest and as popular as he was. Early in May, 1660, Charles II was proclaimed king, and on the 29th of that month he entered London amid the universal acclamations of all classes of his subjects. Bunyan, as the extracts from his works given by Mr. Offor and Mr. Copner show, was an eminently loyal man, and few would rejoice more heartily at this event which he was to be one of the first to suffer by. Already distant mutterings of the storm of persecution had been heard. Before Charles' landing at Dover the Episcopalians in Wales had been very busy in manifesting their orthodox zeal by the persecution of Quakers and Nonconformists. In the May or June of that year stories are told of sectaries being haled out of their beds to prison, and brought in chains to the quarter sessions. As we have seen, Bunyan had many enemies. The public mind was in a very unquiet state, agitated by the wild schemes of political and religious enthusiasts, who were plotting to destroy the whole existing framework both of Church and State, and set up their own chimerical fabric. In such times we cannot be surprised that, as Southey has said, the 'government rendered suspicious by the constant sense of danger was led as much by fear as by resentment to severities which are explained by the necessities of self-defence.' The acts of relentless severity which still stood unrepealed on the Statute Book, enforcing conformity with the established Church, put a weapon in the hands

of the party in power they were not slow to use. 'It is not generally remembered,' writes Dr. Stoughton¹, 'that long before the Uniformity, Conventicle, and Five Mile Acts were passed John Bunyan was cast into Bedford Gaol².' Under these Acts, within six months of the king's arrival, a warrant was issued against Bunyan, and he was arrested for preaching in a private house at Samsell, a hamlet of the village of Harlington about thirteen miles south of Bedford, on November 12, 1660. The intention to arrest him had oozed out, and Bunyan was warned of his danger, and might have escaped if he had chosen; some of his friends advised it: but he had no mind to play the coward, lest he should 'make an ill savour in the country' and discourage the weaker brethren³. The justice before whom he was taken, Mr. Francis Wingate, who seems to have been really desirous to release him, finding all his endeavours, earnestly seconded by his household, useless to lead him to promise to forego preaching, was compelled to make out his 'mittimus' and commit him to the county gaol. While his 'mittimus' was preparing he was reviled by one Dr. Lindale, 'an old enemy to the truth,' who sarcastically reminded him of Alexander the coppersmith who much troubled the apostles—'aiming 'tis like at me,' says Bunyan, 'because I was a tinker'—and comparing him to those 'who made long prayers that they might devour widows' houses.' But Bunyan was a match for him and paid him back in his own coin. He was given over to the constable, and in his custody returned to

¹ *Church of the Restoration*, vol. i. p. 138.

² The old Statute Law of the Realm, 1 Eliz. c. 2, re-enacted with all its rigour 16 Charles II, 4 (1664), required all persons to resort to church every Sunday and holiday, on fine of 1s. for each offence and Church censure. 23 Eliz. c. 1 made the fine £20 a month, and an obstinate offender for twelve months had to be bound to good behaviour by two sureties in £200 each, till he conformed. 29 Eliz. c. 6 empowered the Queen by process out of the Exchequer to seize the goods and two parts of the real property of such offenders, in default of paying these fines. 35 Eliz. c. 1 made frequenting conventicles punishable by imprisonment. Those who after conviction would not submit were to abjure the realm. Refusal to abjure was felony without benefit of clergy. See also 3 Jacob. 4; 21 Jacob. 4; Stoughton, *Church of the Restoration*, i. 135.

³ *Relation of Bunyan's Imprisonment*, pp. 401 foll.

Bedford, probably passing through his native village of Elstow on the way, and was committed to the prison which, with perhaps a brief interval in 1666, was to be his enforced home for the next twelve years, carrying 'God's comfort in his poor soul.' By an obstinate and widespread error it was long taken for granted that Bunyan's place of confinement was the town gaol, which, as old drawings show us, stood so picturesquely on one of the piers of the many-arched bridge over the Ouse. This idea, on which much sensational writing has been expended, has been satisfactorily proved by Mr. James Wyatt to be a baseless fancy, conjured up with the view of exaggerating the severity of Bunyan's sufferings during his by no means harsh imprisonment, and piling contumely on his persecutors. The bridge-gaol was a corporation 'lock-up-house.' The county prison, to which the county justices' warrant must have committed him, was a much larger and less wretched place of incarceration, now pulled down, occupying the angle between High Street and Silver Street¹. Prisons at the best were foul, dark, miserable places in those days, and one who visited Bunyan during his confinement speaks of Bedford gaol as 'an uncomfortable and close prison': but his own narrative contains no complaint of it, and we may reasonably believe that his condition was by no means so wretched as many of his biographers represent, especially after he had gained the favour of his gaoler, who at a later time was ready to imperil himself to grant indulgence to his notable prisoner. An attempt to procure Bunyan's release by his obtaining sureties having failed, some seven weeks after his committal the quarter sessions were held, and Bunyan was indicted as a person who 'devilishly and perniciously abstained from coming to church to hear divine service, and was a common upholder of unlawful meetings and conventicles to the great disturbance and distraction of all good subjects.' The brutal and blustering Keeling, who afterwards by his base subserviency to an infamous government climbed to the Chief Justice's seat, was chairman of the sessions. Under such a man the issue was predetermined even had there been any question of Bunyan's guilt. But he confessed the indictment, and declared

¹ See woodcut of the bridge-gaol heading *A Relation of the Imprisonment of Mr. John Bunyan*, and the ninth note on the *Relation*.

his resolve to repeat his crime the first moment opportunity was given him. Sentence therefore was passed on him, indeed in the then state of the law his judges had no choice in the matter, that he should be imprisoned three months longer, and if at the end of that time he persisted in his contumacy, be 'banished the realm'—in modern language 'transported'—and if he ventured to return without royal licence he must 'stretch by the neck for it.' Back therefore he was had 'with a heart sweetly refreshed' both during his examination and on his return to prison, and full of a peace no man could take from him. Three months elapsed, and then the clerk of the peace, one Mr. Cobb, went to him (April 3, 1661) by the desire of the magistrates to see if he could induce him to conform. But his attempts, which seem to have been very kindly made, were vain, and after giving Bunyan some very sensible counsel that he was in no state of mind to listen to, he left him with Bunyan's thanks for his 'civil and meek discoursing with him, and a prayer that they might meet in heaven.'

Ten days after this interview, April 13, Charles II's coronation took place, and the usual proclamation which allowed persons to sue out a pardon for twelve months from that day had the effect of suspending the execution of his sentence of banishment. The agent employed by Bunyan to avail himself of the royal clemency was his second wife, Elizabeth, a truly noble-hearted Christian woman, worthy to be the helpmate of such a man, as fearless as her husband in the pursuit of the right, but withal a true woman, with 'abashed face and trembling heart,' fuller of compassion for the justices, on the failure of her mediation, thinking 'what a sad account such poor creatures would have to give hereafter,' than of anger at their hardheartedness against her husband. How long before Bunyan's first wife had died we do not know. His narrative is provokingly sparing of facts and dates, except those which concern his own spiritual experiences; but we may gather from her account that somewhere about a year before his first apprehension in November, 1660, she had joined her lot with his and become a second parent to his five little motherless children, one of them a blind girl, the special object of her father's love. Eager for her husband's release she travelled up to London, and with dauntless courage made her way to the House of Lords, where she presented her

petition to one of the peers whom she calls Lord Barkwood, but whom we cannot now identify. He treated her kindly, showed her petition to other peers, but gave her small encouragement. Not baffled by previous failures, in August, when the assizes came round and the judges visited Bedford, the excellent Sir Matthew Hale being the most conspicuous among them, Elizabeth Bunyan, at her husband's instance, three times presented a petition to them that he might be heard, and his case taken impartially into consideration. The interview, which took place in the large chamber of the old Swan Inn, at the Bridge-foot, ended in Sir Matthew expressing real compassion for her sad case, but mildly telling her he was sorry he could do her no good, for what her husband had said was taken for a conviction, and that she must either apply herself to the king or sue out his pardon, or get a writ of error; the last course being the cheapest. No steps seem to have been taken to carry out either of these expedients, either because they required money which was not forthcoming, or, which Southey sensibly remarks is quite probable, 'because it is certain that Bunyan, thinking himself in conscience bound to preach in defiance of the law, would soon have made his case worse than it then was.' What perhaps rendered him less eager to take the suggested remedies was, that, like Joseph before him, he had 'found favour in the eyes of the keeper of the prison,' who treated him rather like 'a prisoner at large'; and confident that he was not a man to abuse his trust, suffered him to go where he pleased, and return when he thought proper. The church-book shows that during this very year he was occasionally present at the church-meetings, and employed on the business of the congregation. Nor was his preaching, which was the very cause of his imprisonment, inhibited. So far did this temporary liberty extend, that he even went to 'see Christians at London.' This coming to the ears of those in authority, he was charged with having for his object 'to plot and raise divisions, and make insurrections,' and his well-meant indulgence was nearly costing his gaoler his place, and an indictment for breach of trust. His liberty was therefore seriously abridged, and he was forbidden even 'to look out at the door.' He was passed by at the following assizes, and when they were again held in the March of 1662, his earnest desire to be allowed to appear before the judges and plead

his own cause was effectually thwarted by the unfriendly influence of the county magistrates by whom he had been committed, and the clerk of the peace, Mr. Cobb, who, having failed to induce him to conform, had turned bitterly against him, and become one of his greatest opposers. This failure effectually closed the prison doors on him, and, as already stated, he remained an inmate of Bedford gaol, with a short interval, for the next twelve years, till his release by order of the Privy Council, May 17, 1672. The seven years that followed his incarceration were 'years of deep darkness and trouble' to all Nonconformists. In 1661 the re-enactment of the Act of Uniformity, demanding an unfeigned assent and consent to everything contained in the Book of Common Prayer, had dealt a heavy blow at the Puritans. The next year, 'black Bartholomew's day' saw nearly two thousand rectors and vicars, about one fifth of the parochial clergy, driven from their charges as Nonconformists. The 'Conventicle Act' of 1664, and the 'Five Mile Act' of 1665, completed the code of persecution, and deepened the feeling of despair in the Nonconformist body. England seemed no longer a home for them, and those who were fortunate enough to escape prison meditated a flight to the Low Countries or to America. The gaols were crammed with men of piety and education, some of whom perished of disease and wretchedness, while the old and young, sick and healthy, were shut up with the vilest miscreants. Upwards of 8,000 Quakers alone suffered imprisonment. Sixty Nonconformists were at one time incarcerated in Bedford gaol for attending a religious meeting, among whom were two ministers. According to his earliest biographer—his friend Charles Doe, 'the Struggler'—Bunyan obtained his release in 1666, the year of the fire in London; but he was speedily apprehended again on the old charge and put into the same gaol. Doe tells us that before his final deliverance he was released and apprehended again, his last imprisonment lasting only six months. But there is some doubt as to the perfect accuracy of these statements. The straitness of Bunyan's imprisonment may be seen from the fact that during all that time his name is not once mentioned in the church book. These records are indeed very fragmentary till 1668. 'For four years and a half after the passing of the Conventicle Act (in 1664) there is a gap, without

a single entry.' On August 30, 1668, Bunyan's name appears again in the church records, and is of frequent occurrence till his release in 1672. Before his final deliverance the extreme rigour of his incarceration was relaxed, and he was allowed to steal out and visit his family, and even to preach in the adjoining villages under the cover of night. Many of the Baptist congregations in Bedfordshire are said to owe their origin to these midnight preachings.

But though his imprisonment was not so severe, nor his prison so wretched as some word-painters have depicted it, the twelve years spent by Bunyan in gaol must have been a dreary and painful time, and 'sometimes under cruel and oppressive gaolers.' The separation from his wife and children was a continually renewed sorrow to his loving heart. He seemed like a man pulling down his house on the head of his wife and children, and yet he said, 'I must do it, I must do it.' He was also at one time, when but 'a young prisoner,' greatly troubled by the thought that his 'imprisonment might end at the gallows,' not so much that he dreaded death, as that he feared his apparent cowardice, when it came to the point, might do discredit to the cause of religion. Being precluded by his imprisonment from carrying on his tinker's craft for the support of his family, he betook himself to making long tagged laces, many hundred gross of which he made and sold to the hawkers. 'While his hands were thus busied,' writes Lord Macaulay, 'he had often employment for his mind and his lips.' He gave religious instruction to his fellow captives; 'at one time,' writes his anonymous biographer, 'there were threescore dissenters imprisoned with him,' and he formed from among these a little flock of which he was himself the pastor¹. He studied indefatigably the few books which he possessed. His two chief companions were the Bible and Fox's *Acts and Monuments*.

'I surveyed his library,' says his anonymous biographer, 'when making him a visit in prison, the least and yet the best that ever I saw, consisting only of two books.' At length Bunyan began to

¹ 'Upon a certain fixed day, being together with my brethren in our prison chamber, they expected that, according to our custom, something should be spoken out of the Word for our mutual edification. I felt myself, it being my turn to speak, empty, spiritless, barren.' — *The Holy City, or New Jerusalem*, 1665.

write the wonderful work which has made him immortal, and which is characterized by Coleridge¹ as 'incomparably the best *Summa Theologiae Evangelicae* ever produced by a writer not miraculously inspired,' the first part of the '*Pilgrim's Progress from this world to that which is to come, delivered under the similitude of a Dream.*' This was far from being the earliest product of his pen, in the ceaseless activity of which, as Mr. Green remarks, he found compensation for the narrow bounds of his prison². In 1656, in his twenty-eighth year, he had given his first work to the world under the title of *Some Gospel Truths opened according to the Scriptures*, in which, says Mr. Offor, 'he attacked the follies of the time, exposed and condemned heresies without mercy.' This was followed the next year with a *Vindication of Gospel Truths*, in which he defended himself against the violent onslaught of Edward Burrough the Quaker, who perished afterwards in Newgate, whom among other not very conciliatory epithets Bunyan termed 'a railing Rabshakeh.' In the September of 1658 he published a tract under the terrible title which prepares us for the nature of its contents, *A few sighs from Hell*, succeeded in the May of the following year by *The doctrine of the Law and Grace unfolded*. In both the author calls himself that 'poor and contemptible creature, John Bunyan of Bedford.' During his imprisonment, and after his enlargement, tracts, meditations, controversial treatises, poetry, or what he wished to pass for such, followed one another in quick succession. The one work of real genius of which he was the author was slow to see the light. His own estimation of it was so low, and he was so fearful of its being regarded as a light and trifling work, beneath the dignity of a minister of the Gospel, that after its completion Bunyan kept the *Pilgrim* locked up in his desk for several years. It was not till 1678, six years after his release from prison, that the first edition of the most popular allegory in the English language 'stole silently into the world.' The same year a second edition appeared with additions, including Mr. Worldly Wiseman, Byends' friends, and other of the most characteristic creations. It at once caught the popular taste. Edition after edition was called for, and the sale became enormous. Of the substantial

¹ *Literary Remains*, vol. iii. p. 391.

² *Short History*, p. 614.

originality of this book there can be no reasonable doubt. Every attempt to rob Bunyan of the merit of originality in the conception and execution of his design, and to convict him of secret plagiarism, has utterly broken down, and done little but prove the entire want of critical discernment in its originators. It is perfectly true that the same allegory had often been treated before Bunyan: so frequently indeed, that pages could be filled, as Mr. Offor has done, with notices of such works. But even if there were any probability that an itinerant tinker should have fallen in with such works, some only existing in French or Dutch, the resemblance between them and his immortal allegory is far too general and vague to warrant the hypothesis that Bunyan had borrowed from them. Remarkable as is the similarity between portions of Spenser's *Faery Queen*, and some of the most striking passages of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, as has been shown in the notes of the present edition—too remarkable, many have thought, to be quite accidental—so excellent a critic as Lord Macaulay speaks of any deliberate imitation as a notion that may be easily confuted by a detailed examination of the respective passages. The complete originality of the *Pilgrim* is plainly asserted by the author himself; and if ever there was a man who would have scorned a falsehood, or revolted at the bare idea of passing off the coinage of another man's brains as his own, that man was John Bunyan.

Bunyan had indeed, as Lord Macaulay remarks, 'no suspicion that he was producing a masterpiece. He could not guess what place his allegory would occupy in English literature, for of English literature he knew nothing. Knavish booksellers put forth volumes of trash under his name, and envious scribblers maintained it to be impossible that the poor ignorant tinker should really be the author of the book. He took the best way to confound both those who counterfeited him and those who slandered him. He continued to work the goldfield which he had discovered, and to draw from it new treasures; not indeed with quite such ease, and in quite such abundance, as when the precious soil was still virgin, but yet with success which left all competition far behind.' In 1684 appeared the Second Part of the *Pilgrim's Progress*. It had been preceded in 1682 by the *Holy War*, which, 'if the *Pilgrim's Progress* did not exist, would be

the best allegory that ever was written.' Grace Abounding was first published in 1666. Its immediate popularity caused six impressions to be called for in that year.

After twelve years' imprisonment, Bunyan finally left Bedford gaol in 1672. His pardon under the Great Seal bears date the 13th of September of that year. The documents which rewarded the late Mr. Ofor's patient researches in the State Paper Office and elsewhere prove that the Quakers were mainly instrumental in throwing open the prison doors to those who were suffering for the sake of religion in the various gaols of the kingdom, and that Charles' gratitude to John Groves, the quaker mate of Tattersall's fisher-boat, in which he escaped to France after the battle of Worcester, had something, and the determined advocacy of George Whitehead the Quaker still more, to do with this act of royal clemency. But the main cause lies deeper, and is connected, as Macaulay says, 'with one of the worst acts of one of the worst governments that England has ever seen,' that of the Cabal. Charles had just concluded the base Treaty of Dover, by which he bound himself to declare himself a Roman Catholic, and to set up the Popish religion in England. The announcement of his conversion it was found convenient to defer. Nor could the other part of the treaty be safely carried out at once. But as a first step toward it, by an unconstitutional exercise of his prerogative, he suspended all penal statutes against Non-conformists and recusants—the former being introduced the better to cloak his real design. Toleration was thus at last secured. 'Ministers returned,' writes Mr. Green, 'after years of banishment, to their houses and their flocks, chapels were reopened, the gaols were emptied, Bunyan left his prison at Bedford; the "Den" where he had been visited with his marvellous dream.' More than three thousand licences to preach were granted, one of the first of which, dated May 9, 1672, was granted to Bunyan, who on the 21st of the preceding January had been called to the pastorate of the Baptist church at Bedford, and 'giving himself up to serve Christ and His Church in that charge, received of the elders the right hand of fellowship.' The place in which Bunyan was licensed to preach was the house, or more probably a barn on the premises, of Josiah Roughhead, a man of substance at Bedford, whose goods had been seized a

few months before to pay a fine inflicted for nonconformity. The story that Bunyan owed his liberation to the kind offices of Dr. Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln, in which diocese Bedford then was, though told with much particularity in the *Life of Dr. Owen*, is contradicted by dates, Barlow not having succeeded to his see until three years later, June 27, 1675, and must be regarded as one of the pleasing fictions of history. This Declaration of Indulgence was short-lived. It was withdrawn, and the Test Act was passed the next year, 1673. 'But though,' says Dr. Stoughton, 'this altered the legal position of Nonconformists much for the worse, the law was not generally pressed, and they were treated with much less severity than before.'

Almost Bunyan's first act after his liberation was to apply to the Government for licences for preachers and preaching-places in Bedfordshire and the neighbouring counties under the Declaration of Indulgence. A document discovered by Dr. Brown in the Record Office contains a list of six-and-twenty such applications, the sixth of which is for 'John Bunyon for Josias Roughead's house in his Orchard at Bedford¹.' While he made Bedford his chief care, Bunyan's pastoral superintendence extended beyond the surrounding district to other parts of England, where he is said to have made stated circuits. He was the means of establishing Baptist congregations at Gamlingay, and in many of the villages round, some of which, we are told, subsist to the present day. When he preached in London, which he seems to have done at stated intervals, an enormous concourse assembled to listen to him, if but one day's notice was given of his coming, in the coldest winter weather, and before daylight in the morning. Two anecdotes are on record with regard to Bunyan's preaching. 'The first, which,' says Southey, 'authenticates itself,' is that one day when he had preached 'with peculiar warmth and enlargement,' one of his friends remarked what 'a sweet sermon' he had delivered. 'Ay,' said he, 'you have no need to tell me that; for the Devil whispered it to me before I was well out of the pulpit.' The other, which has perhaps needlessly been called in question, states that, Charles II having heard that Dr. Owen greatly

¹ *Book of the Bunyan Festival*, p. 17.

admired Bunyan's preaching, asked in surprise 'how a learned man such as he could sit and listen to an illiterate tinker.' 'May it please your Majesty,' he replied, 'I would gladly give up all my learning for that tinker's power of preaching.'

Bunyan survived Charles II, and with a heavy heart saw James II, an avowed Papist, mount the throne. The danger he foresaw for the Nonconformists was made more real by Monmouth's rebellion in 1685. The persecution, which had much increased in violence during the last three years of Charles' reign, not on religious but political grounds, raged with still greater fury. The gaols were filled, and many were driven into exile. Scarcely a single Dissenting Minister of any eminence remained unmolested, and it was by no means unlikely that Bunyan might be called again to occupy his old quarters in Bedford gaol. In this uncertainty, fearing lest if he were sent to prison as a felon his little property might all be forfeited and his wife and children left destitute, by a deed of gift, dated Dec. 23, 1685, in which he describes himself as 'John Bunyan of the parish of St. Cuthbert's in the town of Bedford, *Brazier*,' he made over to his wife Elizabeth all his worldly possessions.

His frequent journeys to exhort other Baptist congregations exposed him to danger of apprehension. Reading was one of the places where he was best known, and there is a tradition that he sometimes visited that town disguised as a wagoner with a long whip in his hand to avoid detection. Quieter times succeeded, and this period of peril to his liberty was followed by one of still greater danger to his honesty and consistency of purpose. James, despairing of using the Tories and Church party as his tools, turned, as his brother had done before him, to the Nonconformists. The snare was craftily baited with a Declaration of Indulgence. A paper in the Bodleian, quoted by Dr. Stoughton¹, shows that Bunyan was deemed a man of sufficient importance to be consulted as to the choice of members of Parliament for Bedford, as one who was prepared to do his utmost to return those who would vote for the repeal of all tests and penal laws touching religion. But Bunyan saw through James' device, and utterly refused to hold any communication with the member.

¹ *Church of the Restoration*, vol. ii. p. 555, note.

of the Court commissioned to secure his aid, and appointed a day of fasting and prayer for the danger that again menaced their civil and religious liberties. A true sturdy Englishman, he with Baxter and Howe 'refused an Indulgence which could only be purchased by the violent overthrow of the law.'

Bunyan did not live to see the Revolution. Four months after the acquittal of the seven bishops, the Pilgrim's earthly Progress ended, and he was bidden to cross the dark river which has no bridge. He was called away in the very midst of his religious activity, and when the once despised tinker had approached the nearest to worldly honour. That year he was chaplain to Sir John Shorter, Lord Mayor of London, and though in the spring he had suffered from the 'sweating sickness,' he published six considerable volumes, and left twelve more in manuscript ready for the press. His death was brought about by a work of true Christian love. The father of a young man in whom he took an interest had resolved, on some offence, real or supposed, to disinherit his son. The young man besought Bunyan's mediation. Desirous to reconcile them Bunyan rode on horseback to Reading, where the father lived, and pleaded the offender's cause so effectually that he obtained a promise of forgiveness. On his return he had to ride through heavy rain. He reached the house of his friend John Strudwick ('grocer and chandler at the sign of the Star, Holborn Bridge,' as we learn from a still-existing billboard with a picture of the four-storied gabled house) drenched to the skin. A fever ensued, of which he died August 31, 1688, aged sixty years. His last earthly work was to revise the proof sheets of the earlier part of a short treatise entitled *The Acceptable Sacrifice*, which was carried through the press after his decease by his old Bedfordshire friend the Rev. George Cokayn of Cople, minister of the church in Red Cross Street. He was buried in Mr. Strudwick's vault in the Nonconformist *Campo Santo*, the burial-ground in Bunhill Fields.

By his first wife Bunyan had five children. Elizabeth, born in 1654, died in childhood before the commencement of his imprisonment. His blind child, Mary, born in 1650, who was none the less precious to him, also died before her father. One daughter, Sarah, and his sons Thomas and Joseph, survived him. Thomas became a preacher, and we are told was held in good

'good boys' by Prudence; who sup on 'bread crumbled into basins of milk,' and are put to bed by Mercy—into 'young men and strong,' able to go out and fight with a giant and give a hand to the destruction of Doubting Castle, and becoming husbands and fathers. We may not be insensible to some grave theological deficiencies, the slight recognition of the value of corporate union, and of the Church as a living society; the scanty allusions to the Lord's Supper as a means of grace, and the entire ignoring of the Sacrament of Baptism; and above all the omission, save once, of reference to the work of the Holy Ghost. But these are but motes in the sunbeam, defects inseparable from every work of native genius, which we could ill afford to exchange for the tame accuracy of the schools. 'If you were to polish it,' writes Coleridge, 'you would destroy at once the reality of the vision.'

The text of the *Pilgrim's Progress* in the present reprint is, in all essential points, that of the second edition of the First Part, and of the first edition of the Second Part, published respectively in 1678 and 1684.

For a long time it was believed that no single copy of the first edition of the First Part was extant. At last one was found in the possession of R. S. Holford, Esq., which has served as the basis of several reprints. It was first issued in 1847 by the Hanserd Knollys Society, under the careful editorship of Mr. George Offor. In this painstaking edition the original is exactly followed 'in the orthography, capitals, italics, and punctuation.' The additions made in the second edition—which include the whole episodes of Mr. Worldly Wiseman, and of Mrs. Diffidence, with most of that of Byends; the touching conversation at the House Beautiful between Charity and Christian with regard to his family; and that of Evangelist with Christian and Faithful as they approach Vanity Fair, the pillar of Lot's wife at the Hill Lucre, the trumpeting and bell-ringing at the Celestial City, and the name of the Hill Difficulty—are distinguished by Mr. Offor with inverted commas; and every omission or alteration made by the author during his lifetime is accurately noted. Since the appearance of this edition, another with a very carefully corrected text has been issued by Messrs. Macmillan, in the 'Golden Treasury' series, under the editorship of the Rev. H. Bothamley. Two literal reprints have also been published by Mr. Elliot Stock;

the first with and the second without the portions added in Bunyan's Second Edition.

The editions named will enable any who desire to do so to make themselves acquainted with the *Pilgrim's Progress* exactly as it issued from the press in Bunyan's lifetime. Literal accuracy has not been sought for in the present edition. The object of the series of which it forms part is not to reproduce archaeological curiosities, but to present some of the chief works of our leading authors in a form which will throw no needless obstacles in the way of the less advanced students of English literature. Pedantic fidelity to the original text would have impeded the progress of the student without any advantage to the philologist. As a rule the spelling of the second edition, which shows a very decided improvement upon that of the first, has been followed. The first edition, which had been probably printed from Bunyan's own rude manuscript, written in prison, with some slight corrections from an editor hardly better educated than himself, abounds with orthographical irregularities, which are generally amended in the second edition. It is interesting to notice, as indicating an epoch in our spelling, that 'then' (the constant form in James I's Bible, the present Authorized Version), which appears uniformly in the first edition, has been as uniformly changed into 'than' in the second.

In the Second Part the orthography of the original edition of 1684 (reprinted by Mr. Offor from a copy formerly belonging to Mr. Lea Wilson) has been generally followed. The spelling here is usually more correct than in the First Part. There are, however, some singular exceptions, among which we may notice 'farewel,' 'Hil,' 'Selfwil,' 'paradice,' 'thorow' for 'through,' and the use of 'bin' for 'been.' This last is akin to that 'vulgarism of diction,' as Southey terms it, which, generally altered in the second edition of the First Part, has held its place in the Second Part, the uniform use of *a* for *have*, never marked as a contraction; e.g. 'I thought you would *a* come in,' 'What could you *a* done to *a* helped yourself?' This, which Sir W. Scott calls 'a sin against orthography rather than grammar,' occurring a hundred times in Shakespeare, has been uniformly preserved. In conclusion, it may be said that while religiously preserving the text unaltered, the rule has been to adopt the

more modern orthography, except in special characteristic cases. This course has been fully authorized by the fact that there is scarcely a single instance where in some part of the work the modern spelling may not be found. To preserve the old orthography would therefore have been mere pedantry.

The same rule has been adopted with regard to capital letters and punctuation. In both Bunyan was lawless and capricious. No good end was to be served in retaining an erroneous usage, and it has been discarded without question.

Manifest errors have also been corrected without scruple.

The entirely unauthorized corrections of later editors, by which Bunyan's text has been tampered with, have been discarded, and the original readings restored. Such are 'wizard' for 'witch' (p. 97, l. 21); 'duty' for 'day' (p. 128, l. 19); 'the thoughts' for 'our thoughts' (p. 133, l. 28); 'palace' for 'place' (p. 169, l. 1); 'prize' for 'price' (ib. l. 21); 'sunshiny' for 'sunshine' (p. 106, l. 17); and as the most notable instance of arbitrary alteration 'Mordeciai' for 'Heman' (p. 120, l. 8).

Of the other work included in this volume, *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners*, little has to be said. It has a twofold value, biographical and experimental. As an autobiography, provoking as are its omissions and scanty its references to any events but such as bore on Bunyan's spiritual life, it is of the highest interest. Without it we should have known very little of Bunyan's early life, and have lost almost all clue to his inner history. The existence of the *Pilgrim's Progress* would have been an almost insoluble problem to us. How much we are indebted to this memoir for our knowledge of Bunyan as a man, and of the circumstances of his life, may be estimated by comparing our acquaintance with his earlier and later years. When he ceased to write no one took up the pen, and beyond two or three anecdotes we are absolutely ignorant of all that happened between his enlargement from prison and his death.

Its value as a work of experimental religion is more restricted. The number of those who can read with profit Bunyan's minute and graphic history of his terrible spiritual conflict is not large, especially among the young—in whom it is more calculated to nourish morbid imaginations and a dangerous habit of self-inspection than to forward the quiet growth of the religious life.

To some it will be perfectly unintelligible. Others will regard Bunyan's varied experiences as the hallucinations of a disordered intellect. Those only—and their number will always be few—who have felt the power of such fierce temptations themselves, and have passed through the same alternations of light and darkness, of hope and despair, are capable of fully appreciating it. Bunyan tells us in his title-page that it was published 'for the support of the weak and tempted people of God.' Those for whom it was intended will ever find in it a message of comfort and strength.

We learn from the title-page that *Grace Abounding* was 'written by his own hand in prison,' where its composition must have whiled away many tedious hours during the early years of his incarceration. It was first published in 1666, the year of the Great Fire, in the sixth year of his imprisonment. It at once became popular, and the year of its issue saw several editions called for.

As a literary work *Grace Abounding* is worthy of the author of the *Pilgrim's Progress*. It is written in the same simple nervous English, neither vulgar nor stilted; and abounds like it in choice bits of old English, racy metaphors, and graphic imagery. Its editing was far more careful than that of the *Pilgrim's Progress* twelve years later.) The earliest editions extant show very few of the gross faults of spelling and solecisms in grammar which deform the first issues of that work. What Bunyan's literary compositions were before they passed under the hands of the reviser is shown by the marginal notes penned by him on the pages of his *Acts and Monuments* during his imprisonment. The first editor who prepared the *Pilgrim's Progress* for the press can have been but little above Bunyan himself in education. The reviser of *Grace Abounding* must have been a man of greater literary power. It may be remarked that the quotations from Scripture in this work are given from memory. Mr. Offor, in his otherwise faithful reprint, unwisely brought them into conformity with the Authorized Version. In this edition the original form has been restored.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

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| <p>1628. The Petition of Right. Duke of Buckingham assassinated by Felton. Laud Bishop of London.</p> <p>1630. Puritan emigration to New England.</p> <p>1633. Laud Archbishop of Canterbury.</p> <p>1637. Hampden's refusal of Ship-money. Hampden's trial.</p> <p>1638. Milton publishes <i>Lycidas</i>. The Scotch Covenant.</p> <p>1640. Long Parliament meets.</p> <p>1642. Charles I raises the standard at Nottingham. Battle of Edgehill.</p> <p>1644. Battle of Marston Moor.</p>
<p>1645. Laud beheaded. Siege of Leicester. Battle of Naseby.</p> <p>1646. Charles I surrenders to the Scots.</p> <p>1647. Charles I given up by the Scots. Seized by Joyce.</p>
<p>1648. Treaty of Newport. Pride's Purge.</p> <p>1649. Execution of Charles I.</p>
<p>1650. Defeat and execution of Montrose.</p> <p>1651. Battle of Worcester</p>
<p>1653, April 20. Cromwell expels the House of Commons. Barebones' Parliament assembles.</p> | <p>1628. John Bunyan born at Elstow.</p>
<p>1638. John Bunyan a schoolboy.</p>
<p>1644, November 30. Bunyan serving as a 'centinel' in the company commanded by Colonel Richard Cockayne.</p>
<p>1647, June 17. Bunyan still a member of one of the companies belonging to the Newport Pagnell garrison.</p> <p>1648-9. Marries first wife.</p>
<p>1649. Bunyan gives up bell-ringing and dancing. Outward reform.</p> <p>1650, Jan. 13. First child, Mary, baptized.</p>
<p>1652-3. Awakened by the talk of the poor women at Bedford. Introduced to Mr. Gifford.</p> <p>1653. Joins Mr. Gifford's Church. Baptized in the Ouse. [May 13: the Memorial to Cromwell (?).]</p> <p>1653-6. Period of mental conflict.</p> |
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1654. Oliver Cromwell Lord Protector. New Parliament meets Sept. 4.
1656. Cromwell's third Parliament. The Humble Petition and Advice.
1657. Venner's Insurrection.
- 1658, Sept. 3. Oliver Cromwell dies. Richard Cromwell Lord Protector.
1660. Charles II lands at Dover, and enters London, May 29.
1661. Coronation of Charles II, April 23.
1662. Royal assent given to Act of Uniformity, May 19. Bartholomew ejection, Aug. 17. Declaration of Indulgence, Dec. 26.
1663. Dispensing Bill fails. Severe persecution of Quakers and other Nonconformists.
1664. Conventicle Act.
1665. Five Mile Act.
1666. Fire of London.
1667. Milton's *Paradise Lost*.
1671. Milton's *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes*.
- 1672, March 15. Declaration of Indulgence; withdrawn the same year.
1673. The Test Act.
1675. Acts against Nonconformists put in force.
1678. Secret treaty with France. Popish Plot. Titus Oates.
1679. Habeas Corpus Act passed.
1682. Rye House Plot.
1683. Execution of William Lord Russell.
- 1654, April 14. His daughter Elizabeth born.
1656. First entry of Bunyan's name in the Church-book. Gifford dies.
1657. Begins to preach publicly.
- 1658, March. Indicted for preaching at Eaton.
- 1660, Nov. 12. Apprehended at Samsell. Committed to Bedford gaol.
- 1661, April 3. Interview with Cobb. Bedford Assizes. Elizabeth Bunyan pleads her husband's cause unsuccessfully with Sir Matthew Hale and the other judges.
- 1662, March. Bunyan denied leave to appear at the Assizes and answer to his charge.
1666. Bunyan released, but within a year imprisoned again. *Grace Abounding* published.
1670. *Pilgrim's Progress* begun.
1672. Appointed pastor of the Church, Jan. 21. Licensed to preach, May 9. Pardon under the Great Seal, Sept. 13.
1678. First part of *Pilgrim's Progress* published. Second edition the same year.
1682. *Holy War* published.

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| <p>1684. Town charters annulled.</p> <p>1685. Charles II dies. Accession of James II. Richard Baxter tried and condemned. Revocation of Edict of Nantes.</p> <p>1686. Test Act dispensed with by Royal authority.</p> <p>1687. Declaration of Indulgence.</p> <p>1688. Trial of the Seven Bishops. Flight of James. William of Orange lands at Torbay, Nov. 5.</p> | <p>1684. Second part of <i>Pilgrim's Progress</i> published.</p> <p>1685. Deed of gift of his property to his wife.</p>
<p>✓</p> <p>1688. Suffers from sweating sickness. Dies, Aug. 31.</p> |
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THE
PILGRIMS PROGRESS

FROM
THIS WORLD
TO
THAT WHICH IS TO COME

DELIVERED UNDER THE SIMILITUDE OF A

DREAM

WHEREIN IS DISCOVERED

THE MANNER OF HIS SETTING OUT, HIS DANGEROUS
JOURNEY, AND SAFE ARRIVAL AT THE
DESIRED COUNTRY

BY
JOHN BUNYAN

I have used similitudes. Hosea 12. 10.

THE
AUTHOR'S APOLOGY
FOR HIS BOOK.

*When at the first I took my Pen in hand,
 Thus for to write; I did not understand
 That I at all should make a little Book
 In such a mode; Nay, I had undertook
 To make another, which when almost done,* 5
Before I was aware, I this begun.
*And thus it was: I writing of the Way
 And Race of Saints, in this our Gospel-Day,
 Fell suddenly into an Allegory
 About their Journey, and the way to Glory,* 10
*In more than twenty things, which I set down;
 This done, I twenty more had in my Crown,
 And they again began to multiply,
 Like sparks that from the coals of fire do fly,
 Nay then, thought I, if that you breed so fast,* 15
*I'll put you by yourselves, lest you at last
 Should prove ad infinitum, and eat out
 The Book that I already am about.*
*Well, so I did; but yet I did not think
 To show to all the World my Pen and Ink* 20
*In such a mode; I only thought to make
 I knew not what: nor did I undertake*

Thereby to please my Neighbor; no not I;
 And did it mine own self to gratify.
 Neither did I but vacant seasons spend 25
 In this my Scribble; nor did I intend
 But to divert myself in doing this,
 From worser thoughts, which make me do amiss.

Thus I set Pen to Paper with delight,
 And quickly had my thoughts in black and white. 30
 For having now my Method by the end,
 Still as I pull'd, it came; and so I penn'd
 It down; until at last it came to be,
 For length and breadth the bigness which you see.

Well, when I had thus put mine ends together, 35
 I shew'd them others, that I might see whether
 They would condemn them, or them justify:
 And some said, let them live; some, let them die.
 Some said, John, print it; others said, Not so:
 Some said, It might do good; others said, No. 40

Now was I in a strait, and did not see
 Which was the best thing to be done by me:
 At last I thought, Since you are thus divided,
 I print it will; and so the case decided.

For, thought I, Some, I see, would have it done; 45
 Though others in that Channel do not run;
 To prove then who advised for the best,
 Thus I thought fit to put it to the test.

I further thought, if now I did deny
 Those that would have it thus, to gratify, 50
 I did not know but binder them I might
 Of that which would to them be great delight.

For those which were not for its coming forth,
 I said to them, Offend you I am loth;
 Yet since your Brethren pleased with it be, 55
 Forbear to judge, till you do further see.

If that thou wilt not read, let it alone;
 Some love the meat, some love to pick the bone:
 Yea, that I might them better palliate,
 I did too with them thus expostulate. 60

May I not write in such a stile as this?
 In such a method too, and yet not miss
 Mine end, thy good? why may it not be done?
 Dark Clouds bring Waters, when the bright bring none
 Yea, dark, or bright, if they their Silver drops 85
 Cause to descend, the Earth, by yielding Crops,
 Gives praise to both, and carpeth not at either,
 But treasures up the Fruit they yield together:
 Yea, so commixes both, that in her Fruit
 None can distinguish this from that, they suit 70
 Her well, when hungry: but if she be full,
 She spues out both, and makes their blessings null.

You see the ways the Fisherman doth take
 To catch the Fish; what Engins doth he make?
 Behold how he ingageth all his Wits, 75
 Also his Snares, Lines, Angles, Hooks and Nets.
 Yet Fish there be, that neither Hook, nor Line,
 Nor Snare, nor Net, nor Engine can make thine;
 They must be grop't for, and be tickled too,
 Or they will not be catcht, what e're you do. 80

How doth the Fowler seek to catch his Game,
 By divers means, all which one cannot name?
 His Gun, his Nets, his Limetwigs, light, and bell:
 He creeps, he goes, he stands; yea who can tell
 Of all his postures, Yet there's none of these 85
 Will make him master of what Fowls he please.
 Yea, he must Pipe, and Whistle to catch this;
 Yet if he does so, that Bird he will miss.

If that a Pearl may in a Toads-head dwell,
 And may be found too in an Oystershell; 90
 If things that promise nothing, do contain
What better is than Gold; who will disdain,
 (That have an inkling of it,) there to look,
 That they may find it. Now my little Book,
 (Tho' void of all those paintings that may make 95
 It with this or the other Man to take,)
 Is not without those things that do excel
 What do in brave, but empty notions dwell.

Well, yet I am not fully satisfied,
 That this your Book will stand when soundly try'd; 100
 Why, what's the matter! it is dark, what tho?
 But it is feigned. What of that I tro?
 Some men by feigning words as dark as mine,
 Make truth to spangle, and its rays to shine.
 But they want solidness: Speak man thy mind, 105
 They drown'd the weak; Metaphors make us blind.
 Solidity, indeed becomes the Pen
 Of him that writeth things Divine to men:
 But must I needs want solidness, because
 By Metaphors I speak; Was not Gods Laws, 110
 His Gospel-Laws, in older time held forth
 By Types, Shadows and Metaphors? Yet loth
 Will any sober man be to find fault
 With them, lest he be found for to assault
 The highest Wisdom. No, he rather stoops, 115
 And seeks to find out what by pins and loops,
 By Calves, and Sheep, by Heifers, and by Rams;
 By Birds, and Herbs, and by the blood of Lambs,
 God speaketh to him. And happy is he
 That finds the light, and grace that in them be. 120
 Be not too forward therefore to conclude,
 That I want solidness, that I am rude:
 All things solid in shew, not solid be;
 All things in parables despise not we,
 Lest things most hurtful lightly we receive, 125
 And things that good are, of our souls bereave.
 My dark and cloudy words they do but hold
 The Truth, as Cabinets inclose the Gold.
 The Prophets used much by Metaphors
 To set forth Truth; Yea, who so considers 130
 Christ, his Apostles too, shall plainly see,
 That Truths to this day in such Mantles be.
 Am I afraid to say that holy Writ,
 Which for its Stile, and Phrase puts down all Wit.
 Is every where so full of all these things, 135
 (Dark Figures, Allegories,) yet there springs

*From that same Book that lustre, and those rays
Of light, that turns our darkest nights to days.*

*Come, let my Carper to his Life now look,
And find There darker lines than in my Book 140
He findeth any. Yea, and let him know,
That in his best things there are worse lines too.*

*May we but stand before impartial men,
To his poor One, I durst adventure Ten,
That they will take my meaning in these lines 145
Far better than his Lies in Silver Shrines.
Come, Truth, although in Swadling-clouts, I find
Informs the Judgment, rectifies the Mind,
Pleases the Understanding, makes the Will
Submit; the Memory too it doth fill 150
With what doth our Imagination please;
Likewise, it tends our troubles to appease.*

*Sound words I know Timothy is to use,
And old Wives Fables he is to refuse;
But yet grave Paul, him no where doth forbid 155
The use of Parables; in which lay hid
That Gold, those Pearls, and precious stones that were
Worth digging for; and that with greatest care.*

*Let me add one word more, O man of God!
Art thou offended? dost thou wish I had 160
Put forth my matter in another dress,
Or that I had in things been more express?
Three things let me propound, then I submit
To those that are my betters, as is fit.*

*1. I find not that I am denied the use 165
Of this my method, so I no abuse
Put on the Words, Things, Readers, or be rude
In handling Figure, or Similitude,
In application; but, all that I may.*

*Seek the advance of Truth, this or that way: 170
Denied, did I say? Nay, I have leave,
(Example too, and that from them that have
God better pleased by their words or ways,
Than any man that breatheth now a-days,)*

Thus to express my mind, thus to declare 175
Things unto thee, that excellentest are.

2. *I find that men (as high as Trees) will write*
Dialogue-wise; yet no man doth them slight
For writing so: Indeed if they abuse
Truth, cursed be they, and, the craft they use 180
To that intent; But yet let Truth be free
To make her Sallies upon Thee, and Me,
Which way it pleases God. For who knows how,
Better than he that taught us first to Plough,
To guide our Mind and Pens for his Design? 185
And he makes base things usher in Divine.

3. *I find that holy Writ in many places,*
Hath semblance with this method, where the cases
Doth call for one thing, to set forth another:
Use it I may then, and yet nothing smother 190
Truths golden Beams; Nay, by this method may
Make it cast forth its rays as light as day.
And now, before I do put up my Pen,
I'll shew the profit of my Book, and then
Commit both thee, and it unto that hand 195
That pulls the strong down, and makes weak ones stand.

4. *This Book it balketh out before thine eyes*
The man that seeks the everlasting Prize:
It shews you whence he comes, whither he goes,
What he leaves undone; also what he does: 200
It also shews you how he runs and runs,
Till he unto the Gate of Glory comes.

It shews too, who sets out for life again,
As if the lasting Crown they would attain:
Here also you may see the reason why 205
They lose their labour, and like Fools do die.

This Book will make a Traveller of thee,
If by its Counsel thou wilt ruled be;
It will direct thee to the Holy Land,
If thou wilt its Directions understand: 210
Yea, it will make the slothful, active be;
The Blind also, delightful things to see,

*Art thou for something rare, and profitable?
 Wouldst thou see a Truth within a Fable?
 Art thou forgetful? wouldst thou remember* 215
*From New-year's-day to the last of December?
 Then read my fancies, they will stick like Burs,
 And may be to the Helpless, Comforters.*
*This Book is writ in such a Dialect,
 As may the minds of listless men affect:* 220
*It seems a Novelty, and yet contains
 Nothing but sound, and honest Gospel-strains.*
*Would'st thou divert thyself from Melancholy?
 Would'st thou be pleasant, yet be far from folly?
 Would'st thou read Riddles, & their Explanation?* 225
*Or else be drowned in thy Contemplation?
 Dost thou love picking meat? Or wouldst thou see
 A man i' th Clouds, and hear him speak to thee?
 Would'st thou be in a Dream, and yet not sleep?
 Or wouldst thou in a moment laugh, and weep?* 230
*Wouldst thou lose thyself, and catch no harm?
 And find thyself again without a charm?
 Would'st read thyself, and read thou know'st not what
 And yet know whether thou art blest or not,
 By reading the same lines? O then come hither,* 235
And lay my Book, thy Head, and Heart together.

JOHN BUNYAN.

THE PILGRIMS PROGRESS:

IN THE SIMILITUDE OF A

DREAM.

AS I walk'd through the wilderness of this world, I lighted
 on a certain place, where was a Den; and I laid me The Gaol.
 down in that place to sleep: and as I slept I dreamed a
 Dream. I dreamed, and behold *I saw a man cloathed with* Isa. 64. 6.
Rags, standing in a certain place, with his face from his own Luke 14. 33.
House, a Book in his hand, and a great burden upon his back. Ps. 98. 4.
Hab. 2. 2.
 I looked, and saw him open the Book, and read therein;
 and as he read, he wept and trembled: and not being able
 longer to contain, he brake out with a lamentable cry;
 10 saying, what shall I do? His Outcry.
 In this plight therefore he went home, and refrained himself Acts 2. 37.
 as long as he could, that his Wife and Children should not
 perceive his distress; but he could not be silent long, because
 that his trouble increased: wherefore at length he brake his
 mind to his Wife and Children; and thus he began to talk to
 them, *O my dear Wife, said he, and you the Children of my*
bowels, I your dear friend, am in myself undone, by reason of
a burden that lieth hard upon me: moreover, I am for certain
informed that this our City will be burned with fire from Heaven, This World.
 20 *in which fearful overthrow, both myself, with thee, my Wife, and*
you my sweet babes, shall miserably come to ruin; except (the

He knew no way of escape as yet. which, yet I see not) some way of escape can be found, whereby we may be delivered. At this his Relations were sore amazed; not for that they believed that what he had said to them was true, but because they thought that some frenzy distemper had got into his head: therefore, it drawing towards night, and they hoping that sleep might settle his brains, with all haste they got him to bed; but the night was as troublesome to him as the day: wherefore instead of sleeping, he spent it in sighs and tears. So when the morning was come, they would know how he did; he told them, worse and worse. 10

Carnal Physic for a Sick Soul.

He also set to talking to them again, but they began to be hardened; they also thought to drive away his distemper by harsh and surly carriages to him: sometimes they would deride, sometimes they would chide, and sometimes they would quite neglect him: wherefore he began to retire himself to his Chamber to pray for, and pity them; and also to condole his own misery: he would also walk solitarily in the Fields, sometimes reading, and sometimes praying: and thus for some days he spent his time.

Now, I saw upon a time, when he was walking in the 20 Fields, that he was (as he was wont) reading in his Book, and greatly distressed in his mind; and as he read, he burst out, as he had done before, crying, *What shall I do to be saved?*

Acts 16. 30.
31.

I saw also that he looked this way, and that way, as if he would run; yet he stood still, because as I perceived he could not tell which way to go. I looked then, and saw a Man named *Evangelist*¹ coming to him, and asked, *Wherefore doest thou cry?* He answered, Sir, I perceive, by the Book in my hand, that I am condemned to die, and after that to come to Judgement; and I find that I am not willing to do the first, 30 nor able to do the second.

Heb. 9. 27.

Job 16. 21.

28.

Ezek. 22. 14.

Then said *Evangelist*, Why not willing to die? since this life is attended with so many evils? The Man answered, Because I fear that this burden that is upon my back, will

1 Christian no sooner leaves the World but meets
Evangelist, who lovingly him greets
With tidings of another: and doth show
Him how to mount to that from this below.

sink me lower than the Grave; and I shall fall into *Tophet*. Isa. 30. 33.
And Sir, if I be not fit to go to Prison, I am not fit (I am sure) to go to Judgement, and from thence to Execution; and the thoughts of these things make me cry.

Then said *Evangelist*, If this be thy condition, why standest thou still? He answered, Because I know not whither to go. *Conviction of the necessity of flying.*
Then he gave him a *Parchment Roll*, and there was written within, *Fly from the wrath to come.* Mat. 3. 7.

The Man therefore read it, and looking upon *Evangelist*
10 very carefully; said, Whither must I fly? Then said *Evangelist*, pointing with his finger over a very wide Field, Do you see yonder *Wicket-gate*? The Man said, No. Then said the other, Do you see yonder shining light? He said, I think I do. Then said *Evangelist*, Keep that light in your eye, and go up directly thereto, so shalt thou see the Gate; at which when thou knockest, it shall be told thee what thou shalt do. Mat. 7. 13. Psalm 119. 105. 2 Pet. 1. 19. Christ and the way to him cannot be found without the Word.

So I saw in my Dream, that the Man began to run; now he had not run far from his own door, but his Wife and Children perceiving it, began to cry after him to return: but
20 the Man put his fingers in his Ears, and ran on crying, Life, Life, Eternal Life: so he looked not behind him, but fled towards the middle of the Plain. Luke 14. 26. Gen. 19. 17.

The Neighbors also came out to see him run, and as he ran, some mocked, others threatned; and some cried after him to return. And among those that did so, there were two that were resolved to fetch him back by force: the name of the one was *Obstinate*, and the name of the other *Pliable*. *They that fly from the wrath to come are A Gaining Stock to the world.*
Now by this time the Man was got a good distance from them; But however they were resolved to pursue him; which
30 they did, and in a little time they over-took him. Then said the Man, Neighbors, *Wherefore are you come?* They said, To perswade you to go back with us; but he said, That can by no means be: You dwell, said he, in the City of *Destruction* (the place also where I was born,) I see it to be so; and dying there, sooner or later, you will sink lower then the Grave, into a place that burns with Fire and Brimstone; Be content good Neighbors, and go along with me. Jer. 20. 10. Obstinate and Pliable follow him.

Obstinate. What! said *Obstinate*, and leave our Friends, and our comforts behind us!

Christian. Yes, said *Christian*, (for that was his name) because that
 2 Cor. 4. 18. all is not worthy to be compared with a little of that that I am seeking to enjoy, and if you will go along with me, and hold it, you shall fare as I myself; for there where
 Luke 15. 17. I go, is enough, and to spare; Come away, and prove my words.

OBS. What are the things you seek, since you leave all the World to find them?

1 Pet. 1. 4. *CHR.* I seek an Inheritance, incorruptible, undefiled, and that
 Heb. 11. 16. fadeth not away; and it is laid up in Heaven, and safe there, to be bestowed at the time appointed on them that diligently seek it. Read it so, if you will, in my Book.

OBS. Tush, said *Obstinate*, away with your Book; will you go back with us, or no?

CHR. No, not I, said the other; because I have laid my
 Luke 9. 60. hand to the Plough.

OBS. Come then, Neighbor *Pliable*, let us turn again, and go home without him; There is a Company of these Craz'd-beaded
 Coxcombs, that when they take a fancy by the end, are wiser in
 their own eyes than seven men that can render a Reason.

PLI. Then said *Pliable*, Don't revile; if what the good *Christian* says is true, the things he looks after, are better than ours: my heart inclines to go with my Neighbor.

OBS. What! more Fools still? he ruled by me and go back; who knows whither such a brainsick fellow will lead you? Go back, go back, and be wise.

CHR. Nay, but do thou come with me Neighbor *Pliable*; there are such things to be had which I spoke of, and many
 30 more Glories besides. If you believe not me, read here in this Book; and for the truth of what is exprest therein, behold all is confirmed by the blood of him that made it.

PLI. Well Neighbor *Obstinate*, (said *Pliable*) I begin to come
 to a point; I intend to go along with this good man, and to cast in my lot with him: But my good Companion, do you know the way to this desired place?

CHR. I am directed by a man whose name is *Evangelist*, to

Christian and Obstinate pull for Pliable's Soul.

Heb. 13. 20,

21.

Heb. 9. 17,

18, 19, 20, 21.

Pliable con-

stant to

go with

Christian.

speed me to a little Gate that is before us, where we shall receive instruction about the way.

PLI. *Come then good Neighbor, let us be going.* Then they went both together.

OBS. And I will go back to my place, said *Obstinate*. I will be no Companion of such misled fantastical Fellows. Obstinate goes railing back.

Now I saw in my Dream, that when *Obstinate* was gone back, *Christian* and *Pliable* went talking over the Plain; and thus they began their discourse, Talk between Christian and Pliable.

CHR. Come Neighbor *Pliable*, how do you do? I am glad you are perswaded to go along with me; and had even *Obstinate* himself but felt what I have felt of the Powers and Terrors of what is yet unseen, he would not thus lightly have given us the back.

PLI. *Come Neighbor Christian, since there is none but us two here, tell me now further what the things are, and how to be enjoyed, whither we are going!*

CHR. I can better conceive of them with my Mind, than speak of them with my Tongue: But yet since you are desirous to know, I will read of them in my Book. God's things unspeakable.

PLI. *And do you think that the avords of your Book are certainly true?*

CHR. Yes verily, for it was made by him that cannot lye. Tit. 1. 2.

PLI. *Well said; what things are they?*

CHR. There is an endless Kingdom to be inhabited, and everlasting life to be given us, that we may inhabit that Kingdom for ever. Isa. 45. 17. John 10. 27. 28, 29.

PLI. *Well said; and what else?*

CHR. There are Crowns of Glory to be given us; and Garments that will make us shine like the Sun in the Firmament of Heaven. 2 Tim. 4. 8. Rev. 3. 4. Matth. 13. 43.

PLI. *This is excellent; and what else?*

CHR. There shall be no more crying, nor sorrow; For he that is owner of the place, will wipe all tears from our eyes. Isa. 25. 8. Rev. 7. 16, 17. Chap. 21. 4.

PLI. *And what company shall we have there?*

CHR. There we shall be with *Seraphims*, and *Cberubins*, Creatures that will dazzle your eyes to look on them: There also you shall meet with thousands, and ten thousands that Isa. 6. 2. 1 Thess. 4. 16, 17. Rev. 17.

have gone before us to that place; none of them are hurtful, but loving, and holy: every one walking in the sight of God, and standing in his presence with acceptance for ever. In a word, there we shall see the Elders with their Golden Crowns: there we shall see the Holy Virgins with their Golden Harps: there we shall see Men that by the World were cut in pieces, burned in flames, eaten of Beasts, drowned in the Seas, for the love that they bare to the Lord of the place, all well, and cloathed with Immortality as with a Garment.)

Rev. 4. 4.

Chap. 14. 1.

9. 3. 4. 5.

John 12. 25.

2 Cor. 5. 2.

3. 5.

10

PLI. *The bearing of this is enough to ravish ones heart; but are these things to be enjoyed? How shall we get to be Sharers hereof?*

Isa. 55. 12.

John 7. 37.

Chap. 6. 37.

Rev. 21. 6.

Chap. 22. 17.

CHR. The Lord, the Governor of that Country, hath recorded *that* in this Book: the substance of which is, If we be truly willing to have it, he will bestow it upon us freely.

PLI. *Well, my good Companion, glad am I to hear of these things: Come on, let us mend our pace.*

CHR. I cannot go so fast as I would, by reason of this burden that is upon my back.

*The Slough
of Despond.*

Now I saw in my Dream, that just as they had ended this talk, they drew near to a very *Miry Slough*, that was in the midst of the Plain, and they being heedless, did both fall suddenly into the bog. The name of the Slough was *Despond*. Here therefore they wallowed for a time, being grievously bedaubed with the dirt; and *Christian*, because of the burden that was on his back, began to sink in the Mire.

PLI. *Then said Pliable, Ab, Neighbor Christian, where are you now?*

30

CHR. Truly, said *Christian*, I do not know.

PLI. At that *Pliable* began to be offended; and angrily said to his Fellow, *Is this the happiness you have told me all this while of? If we have such ill speed at our first setting out, what may we expect, 'twixt this and our Journeys end?*

*It is not
enough to be
Pliable.*

May I get out again with my life, you shall possess the brave Country alone for me. And with that he gave a desperate struggle or two, and got out of the Mire, on that side of

the Slough which was next his own House: so away he went, and *Christian* saw him no more.

Wherefore *Christian* was left to tumble in the Slough of *Dispond* alone; but still he endeavoured to struggle to that side of the Slough that was still further from his own House, *Christian in trouble seeks still to get further from his own House.* and next to the Wicket-gate; the which he did, but could not get out, because of the burden that was upon his back. But I beheld in my Dream, that a Man came to him, whose name was *Help*, and asked him, *What he did there?*

- 10 CHR. Sir, said *Christian*, I was directed this way, by a man called *Evangelist*; who directed me also to yonder Gate, that I might escape the wrath to come: And as I was going thither, I fell in here.

HELP. *But why did you not look for the steps?*

The Promises.

CHR. *Fear* followed me so hard, that I fled the next way, and fell in.

HELP. *Then*, said he, *Give me thy band!* So he gave him his hand, and he drew him out, and set him upon sound ground, and bid him go on his way. *Help lifts him out. Ps. 40. 2.*

- 20 Then I stepped to him that pluckt him out, and said, Sir, wherefore, since over this place is the way from the City of *Destruction* to yonder Gate, is it that *this* Plat is not mended, that poor travellers might go thither with more security? And he said unto me, This *Miry slough* is such a place as cannot be mended. It is the descent whither the scum and filth that attends conviction for sin doth continually run, *What makes the Slough of Dispond.* and therefore it is called the *Slough of Dispond*: for still as the sinner is awakened about his lost condition, there ariseth in his soul many fears and doubts and discouraging apprehensions, which all of them get together, and settle in this place: And this is the reason of the badness of this ground.

It is not the pleasure of the King that this place should remain so bad. His Laborers also have, by the direction of His Majesty's Surveyors, been for above this sixteen hundred years employed about this patch of ground, if perhaps it might have been mended: yea, and to my knowledge, said he, *Here* hath been swallowed up at least twenty million Cart

Loads; yea millions, of wholesome Instructions, that have at all seasons been brought from all places of the Kings Dominions; (and they that can tell, say, they are the best Materials to make good ground of the place;) if so be it might have been mended; but it is the *Slough of Dispond* still, and so will be, when they have done what they can.

True, there are by the direction of the Lawgiver, certain good and substantial Steps, placed even through the very midst of this *Slough*; but at such time as this place doth much spue out its filth, as it doth against change of Weather, 10 these steps are hardly seen; or if they be, Men through the dizziness of their heads, step besides; and then they are bemired to purpose, notwithstanding the steps be there; but the ground is good when they are once got in at the Gate.

The Promises of forgiveness and acceptance to life by faith in Christ.

1 Sam. 12. 23.

Pliable got home and is visited of his Neighbors. His entertainment by them at his return.

Now I saw in my Dream, that by this time *Pliable* was got home to his House again. So his Neighbors came to visit him; and some of them called him wise Man for coming back; and some called him Fool, for hazarding himself with *Christian*; others again did mock at his Cowardliness; saying, 20 Surely since you began to venture, I would not have been so base to have given out for a few difficulties. So *Pliable* sat sneaking among them. But at last he got more confidence, and then they all turned their tales, and began to deride poor *Christian* behind his back.

And thus much concerning *Pliable*.

Mr. Worldly-Wiseman meets with Christian.

Now as *Christian* was walking solitary by himself, he espied one afar off come crossing over the field to meet him; and their hap was to meet just as they were crossing the way of each other. The Gentleman's name was Mr. *Worldly-Wise-* 30 *man*; he dwelt in the Town of *Carnal-Policy*, a very great Town, and also hard by from whence *Christian* came. This man then meeting with *Christian*, and having some inkling of him,—for *Christian*'s setting forth from the City of *Destruction* was much noised abroad, not only in the Town where he dwelt, but also it began to be the Town-talk in some other places.—Master *Worldly-Wiseman* therefore, having some guess of him, by beholding his laborious going, by observing his

sighs and groans, and the like, began thus to enter into some talk with *Christian*.

WORLD. *How now, good fellow, whither away after this* Talk between
Mr. Worldly-
Wiseman
and Chris-
tian.
burdened manner?

CHR. A burdened manner indeed, as ever I think poor creature had. And whereas you ask me, *Whither away*, I tell you, Sir, I am going to yonder Wicket-gate before me; for there, as I am informed, I shall be put into a way to be rid of my heavy burden.

10 WORLD. *Hast thou a Wife and Children?*

CHR. Yes, but I am so laden with this burden, that I cannot take that pleasure in them as formerly: methinks, I am as if I had none.

1 Cor. 7. 29

WORLD. *Wilt thou hearken to me, if I give thee counsel?*

CHR. If it be good, I will; for I stand in need of good counsel.

WORLD. *I would advise thee then, that thou with all speed* Mr. Worldly-
Wiseman.
Counsel to
Christian.
*get thyself rid of thy burden; for thou wilt never be settled in
thy mind till then: nor canst thou enjoy the benefits of the blessing*
20 *which God hath bestowed upon thee till then.*

CHR. That is that which I seek for, even to be rid of this heavy burden; but get it off my self I cannot: nor is there a man in our Country that can take it off my shoulders; therefore am I going this way, as I told you, that I may be rid of my burden.

WORLD. *Who bid thee go this way to be rid of thy burden?*

CHR. A man that appeared to me to be a very great and honorable person; his name, as I remember, is *Evangelist*.

WORLD. *I besbrow him for his counsel; there is not a more* Mr. Worldly-
Wiseman
Condemed
Evangelists
Counsel.
30 *dangerous and troublesome way in the world than is that unto
which he hath directed thee; and that thou shalt find if thou
wilt be ruled by his counsel. Thou hast met with something (as
I perceive) already; for I see the dirt of the Slough of Dis-
pond is upon thee; but that Slough is the beginning of the sorrows
that do attend those that go on in that way. Hear me, I am older
than thou! thou art like to meet with in the way which
thou goest, Wearisomness, Painfulness, Hunger, Perils, Naked-
ness, Saword, Lions, Dragons, Darkness, and in a word, death,*

and what not? These things are certainly true, having been confirmed by many testimonies. And why should a man so carelessly cast away himself, by giving heed to a stranger?

The frame of the heart of young Christians.

CHR. Why, Sir, this burden upon my back is more terrible to me than all these things which you have mentioned: nay, methinks I care not what I meet with in the way, so be I can also meet with deliverance from my burden.

WORLD. How camest thou by thy burden at first?

CHR. By reading this Book in my hand.

Worldly-Wiseman does not like that Men should be Serious in reading the Bible.

WORLD. I thought so; and it is happened unto thee as to other ¹⁰ weak men, who meddling with things too high for them, do suddenly fall into thy distractions; which distractions do not only unman men, (as thine I perceive has done thee) but they run them upon desperate ventures, to obtain they know not what.

CHR. I know what I would obtain; it is ease for my heavy burden.

Whether Mr. Worldly prefers Morality before the Strait Gate.

WORLD. But why wilt thou seek for ease this way, seeing so many dangers attend it, especially, since (hadst thou but patience to bear me,) I could direct thee to the obtaining of what thou desirest, without the dangers that thou in this way wilt run thy ²⁰ self into: yea, and the remedy is at hand. Besides, I will add, that instead of those dangers, thou shalt meet with much safety, friendship, and content.

CHR. Pray, Sir open this secret to me.

WORLD. Why in yonder Village, (the Village is named Morality) there dwells a Gentleman, whose name is Legality, a very judicious man (and a man of a very good name) that has skill to help men off with such burdens as thine are from their shoulders: yea, to my knowledge he hath done a great deal of good this way: Aye, and besides, he hath skill to cure those that are ³⁰ somewhat crazed in their wits with their burdens. To him, as I said, thou mayest go, and be helped presently. His house is not quite a mile from this place; and if he should not be at home himself, he hath a pretty young man to his Son, whose name is Civility, that can do it (to speak on) as well as the old Gentleman himself: There, I say, thou mayest be eased of thy burden, and if thou art not minded to go back to thy former habitation, as indeed I would not wish thee, thou mayest send for thy Wife and Children

to thee to this Village, where there are houses now stand empty, one of which thou mayest have at reasonable rates: Provision is there also cheap and good, and that which will make thy life the more happy, is, to be sure there thou shalt live by honest neighbors, in credit and good fashion.

Now was *Christian* somewhat at a stand, but presently he concluded; if this be true which this Gentleman hath said, my wisest course is to take his advice; and with that he thus farther spoke.

10 CHR. Sir, which is my way to this honest man's house?

WORLD. Do you see yonder high hill?

Mount Sinai.

CHR. Yes, very well.

WORLD. By that *Hill* you must go, and the first house you come at is his.

So *Christian* turned out of his way to go to Mr. *Legality's* house for help: but behold, when he was got now hard by the *Hill*, it seemed so high, and also that side of it that was next the way side did hang so much over, that *Christian* was afraid to venture further, lest the *Hill* should fall on his head: wherefore there he stood still, and he wot not what to do. Also his burden, now, seemed heavier to him than while he was in his way. There came also flashes of fire out of the *Hill*, that made *Christian* afraid that he should be burned. Here therefore he sweat, and did quake for fear. And now he began to be sorry that he had taken Mr. *Worldly-Wiseman's* counsel; and with that he saw *Evangelist* coming to meet him; at the sight also of whom he began to blush for shame. So *Evangelist* drew nearer and nearer, and coming up to him, he looked upon him with a severe and dreadful countenance: and thus began to reason with *Christian*.

Christian afraid that Mount Sinai would fall on his head.

Exod. 19. 18. Ver. 16.

Heb. 12. 21.

Evangelist findeth Christian under Mount Sinai, and looketh severely upon him.

EVAN. What doest thou here? *Christian*, said he? at which word *Christian* knew not what to answer: wherefore, at present he stood speechless before him. Then said *Evangelist* farther, Art not thou the man that I found crying without the walls of the City of Destruction?

Evangelist reasons afresh with Christian.

CHR. Yes, dear Sir, I am the man.

EVAN. Did not I direct thee the way to the little Wicket-gate?

CHR. Yes, dear Sir, said *Christian*.

EVAN. *How is it then that thou art so quickly turned aside? for thou art now out of the way.*

CHR. I met with a Gentleman, so soon as I had got over the *Slough of Dispond*, who perswaded me that I might, in the *Village* before me, find a man that could take off my burden.

EVAN. *What was he?*

CHR. He looked like a Gentleman, and talked much to me, and got me at last to yield; so I came hither: but when I beheld this Hill, and how it hangs over the way, I suddenly made a stand, lest it should fall on my head. 10

EVAN. *What said that Gentleman to you?*

CHR. Why, he asked me whither I was going, and I told him.

EVAN. *And what said he then?*

CHR. He asked me if I had a Family, and I told him: but, said I, I am so loaden with the burden that is on my back, that I cannot take pleasure in them as formerly.

EVAN. *And what said he then?*

CHR. He bid me with speed get rid of my burden, and I told him, 'twas ease that I sought: And said I, I am 20 therefore going to yonder *Gate* to receive further direction how I may get to the place of deliverance. So he said that he would shew me a better way, and short, not so attended with difficulties, as the way, Sir, that you set me: which way, said he, will direct you to a Gentleman's house that hath skill to take off these burdens: So I believed him, and turned out of that way into this, if haply I might be soon eased of my burden: but when I came to this place, and beheld things as they are, I stopped for fear, (as I said) of danger: but I now know not what to do. 30

EVANG. *Then (said Evangelist) stand still a little, that I may shew thee the words of God.* So he stood trembling. *Then (said Evangelist) See that ye refuse not him that speaketh; for if they escaped not who refused him that spake on Earth, much more shall not we escape, if we turn away from him that speaketh from Heaven.* He said moreover, *Now the just shall live by faith; but if any man draws back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him.* He also did thus apply them, *Thou art the*

Heb. 12. 25

Evangelist
convinces
Christian of
his Error.
Chap. 10. 38.

man that art running into this misery, thou hast began to reject the counsel of the most high, and to draw back thy foot from the way of peace, even almost to the hazarding of thy perdition.

Then *Christian* fell down at his foot as dead, crying, Woe is me, for I am undone: at the sight of which *Evangelist* caught him by the right hand, saying, all manner of sin and blasphemies shall be forgiven unto men; be not faithless, but believing; then did *Christian* again a little revive, and stood up trembling, as at first, before *Evangelist*.

Matth. 12. 31.
Mark 3. 28.

- 10 Then *Evangelist* proceeded, saying, Give more earnest heed to the things that I shall tell thee of. I will now shew thee who it was that deluded thee, and who 'twas also to whom he sent thee. The man that met thee, is one *Worldly-Wiseman*¹, and rightly is he so called; partly, because he savoureth only the Doctrine of this world (therefore he always goes to the Town of *Morality* to Church) and partly because he loveth that Doctrine best, for it saveth him from the Cross; and because he is of this carnal temper, therefore he seeketh to prevent my ways, though right. Now there are three things in this
- 20 mans counsel that thou must utterly abhor:

Mr. Worldly-
Wiseman de-
scribed by
Evangelist.
1 John 4. 5.
Gal. 6. 12.

1. His turning thee out of the way.

2. His labouring to render the Cross odious to thee.

3. And his setting thy feet in that way that leadeth unto the administration of Death.

Evangelist
discovers the
deceit of
Mr. Worldly-
Wiseman.

First, Thou must abhor his turning thee out of the way; yea, and thine own consenting thereto: because this is to reject the counsel of God, for the sake of the counsel of a *Worldly-Wiseman*. The Lord says, *Strive to enter in at the strait gate*, the gate to which I sent thee; *for strait is*

Luke 13. 24.
Matt. 7. 13, 14.

- 30 the gate that leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it. From this little wicket-gate, and from the way thereto hath this wicked man turned thee, to the bringing of thee almost to destruction; hate therefore his turning thee out of the way, and abhor thyself for hearkening to him.

¹ When Christians unto carnal men give ear,
Out of their way they go, and pay for't dear
For master *Worldly-Wiseman* can but shew
A Saint the way to Bondage and to woe.

Secondly, Thou must abhor his labouring to render the
 Heb. 11. 25. Cross odious unto thee; for thou art to *prefer it before the*
 26. *treasures of Egypt*: besides, the King of Glory hath told thee,
 Mark 8. 35. that he that will save his life, shall lose it: and *be that comes*
 John 12. 25. *after him, and hates not his father, and mother, and wife, and*
 Math. 10. 30. *children, and brethren, and sisters; yea, and his own life also,*
 Luke 14. 26. *he cannot be my Disciple.* I say therefore, for a man to labour
 to perswade thee, that that shall be thy death, without which
 the truth hath said, thou canst not have eternal life, This
 Doctrine thou must abhor. 10

Thirdly, Thou must hate his setting of thy feet in the way
 that leadeth to the ministration of death. And for this thou
 must consider to whom he sent thee, and also how unable
 that person was to deliver thee from thy burden.

He to whom thou wast sent for ease, being by name *Legality*,
 Gal. 4. 21, 22. is the Son of the Bond-woman which now is, and is in bondage
 23, 24, 25, 26. with her children, and is in a mystery this Mount *Sinai*, which
 27. thou hast feared will fall on thy head. Now if she with her
 The Bond- children are in bondage, how canst thou expect by them to
 Woman. be made free? This *Legality* therefore is not able to set thee 20
 free from thy burden. No man was as yet ever rid of his
 burden by him, no, nor ever is like to be: ye cannot be
 justified by the Works of the Law; for by the deeds of the
 Law no man living can be rid of his burden: therefore Mr. ✓
Worldly-Wiseman is an alien, and Mr. *Legality* a cheat: and
 for his son *Civility*, notwithstanding his simpering looks, he is
 but an hypocrite, and cannot help thee. Believe me, there
 is nothing in all this noise, that thou hast heard of this sottish
 man, but a design to beguile thee of thy Salvation, by turning
 thee from the way in which I had set thee. After this 30
Evangelist called aloud to the Heavens for confirmation of
 what he had said; and with that there came words and fire
 out of the Mountain under which poor Christian stood, that
 made the hair of his flesh stand. The words were thus
 pronounced, *As many as are of the works of the Law, are under*
 Gal. 3. 10. *the curse; for it is written, Cursed is every one that continueth*
not in all things which are written in the Book of the Law to do
them.

Now *Christian* looked for nothing but death, and began to cry out lamentably, even cursing the time in which he met with Mr. *Worldly-Wiseman*, still calling himself a thousand fools for hearkening to his counsel: he also was greatly ashamed to think that this Gentleman's arguments, flowing only from the flesh, should have that prevalency with him to forsake the right way. This done, he applied himself again to *Evangelist* in words and sense as follows.

CHR. Sir, what think you? is there hopes? may I now go
 10 back, and go up to the *Wicket-gate*? Shall I not be abandoned
 for this, and sent back from thence ashamed? I am sorry
 I have hearkened to this man's counsel, but may my sin be
 forgiven?

EVANG. Then said *Evangelist* to him, Thy sin is very great,
 for by it thou hast committed two evils; thou hast forsaken
 the way that is good, to tread in forbidden paths: yet will
 the man of the Gate receive thee, for he has good will for
 men; only, said he, take heed that thou turn not aside again,
 lest thou perish from the way when his wrath is kindled but
 20 a little. Then did *Christian* address himself to go back, and
Evangelist, after he had kist him, gave him one smile, and bid
 him God speed: so he went on with haste, neither spake he
 to any man by the way; nor if any man asked him, would he
 vouchsafe them an answer. He went like one that was all
 the while treading on forbidden ground, and could by no
 means think himself safe, till again he was got into the way
 which he left to follow Mr. *Worldly-Wiseman's* counsel. So in
 process of time, *Christian* got up to the Gate. Now over the
 Gate there was written, *Knock and it shall be opened unto you.* Matth. 7. 8.
 30 He knocked therefore¹, more than once or twice, saying,

*May I now enter here? will he within
 Open to sorry me, though I have been
 An undeserving Rebel? then shall I
 Not fail to sing his lasting praise on high.*

¹ He that will enter in must first without
 Stand knocking at the Gate, for need he doubt
 That is a knocker but to enter in;
 For God can love him, and forgive his sin.

At last there came a grave Person to the Gate, named *Good-will*, who asked *Who was there? and whence he came? and what he would have?*

CHR. Here is a poor burdened sinner. I come from the City of *Destruction*, but am going to Mount *Zion*, that I may be delivered from the wrath to come. I would therefore, Sir, since I am informed that by this Gate is the way thither, know if you are *willing* to let me in.

The Gate will be opened to broken hearted sinners.

GOOD WILL. I am *willing* with all my heart, said he; and with that he opened the Gate. 10

Satan envies those that enter the straight Gate.

Christian Entered the Gate with Joy and trembling. Talk between Good Will and Christian.

So, when *Gbristian* was stepping in, the other gave him a pull; Then said *Gbristian*, What means that? The other told him, A little distance from this Gate, there is erected a strong Castle, of which *Beelzebub* is the Captain: from thence both he, and them that are with him shoot Arrows at those that come up to this Gate; if haply they may die before they can enter in. Then said *Gbristian*, I rejoice and tremble. So when he was got in, the Man of the Gate asked him, Who directed him thither?

CHR. *Evangelist* bid me come hither and knock, (as I did;) And he said, that you, Sir, would tell me what I must do. 20

GOOD WILL. *An open Door is set before thee, and no man can shut it.*

CHR. Now I begin to reap the benefits of my hazards.

GOOD WILL. *But how is it that you came alone?*

CHR. Because none of my Neighbors saw their danger, as I saw mine.

GOOD WILL. *Did any of them know of your coming?*

CHR. Yes, my Wife and Children saw me at the first, and called after me to turn again: Also some of my Neighbors stood crying, and calling after me to return; but I put my Fingers in my Ears, and so came on my way. 30

GOOD WILL. *But did none of them follow you, to perswade you to go back?*

CHR. Yes, both *Obstinate*, and *Pliable*: But when they saw that they could not prevail, *Obstinate* went railing back; but *Pliable* came with me a little way.

GOOD WILL. *But why did he not come through?*

CHR. We indeed came both together, until we came at the Slough of *Dispond*, into the which we also suddenly fell. And then was my Neighbor *Pliable* discouraged, and would not adventure further. Wherefore getting out again, on that side next to his own House, he told me, I should possess the brave Country alone for him: So he went *his* way, and I came *mine*. He after *Obstinate*, and I to this Gate.

A Man may have Company when he sets out for Heaven, and yet go thither alone.

GOOD WILL. Then said *Good Will*, Alas poor Man, is the Cœlestial Glory of so small esteem with him, that he counteth it not worth running the hazards of a few difficulties to obtain it.

CHR. Truly, said *Christian*, I have said the truth of *Pliable*, and if I should also say the truth of myself, it will appear there is no betterment 'twixt him and myself. 'Tis true, he went back to his own house, but I also turned aside to go in the way of death, being perswaded thereto by the carnal arguments of one Mr. *Worldly-Wiseman*.

Christian accuseth himself before the man at the Gate.

GOOD WILL. Oh, did he light upon you? what, he would have had you a sought for ease at the hands of Mr. *Legality*; they are both of them a very cheat: But did you take his counsel?

CHR. Yes, as far as I durst: I went to find out Mr. *Legality*, until I thought that the Mountain that stands by his house, would have fallen upon my head: wherefore there I was forced to stop.

GOOD WILL. That Mountain has been the death of many, and will be the death of many more: 'tis well you escaped being by it dasht in pieccs.

CHR. Why, truly I do not know what had become of me there, had not *Evangelist* happily met me again as I was musing in the midst of my *dumps*: but 'twas Gods mercy that he came to me again, for else I had never come hither. But now I am come, such a one as I am, more fit indeed for death by that Mountain, than thus to stand talking with my Lord: But O, what a favour is this to me, that yet I am admitted entrance here.

GOOD WILL. We make no objections against any, notwithstanding all that they have done before they come hither, *Christ comforted again.*

THE PILGRIMS PROGRESS.

John 6. 37. they in no wise are cast out, and therefore, good *Christian*, come a little way with me, and I will teach thee about the way thou must go. Look before thee; dost thou see this narrow way? THAT is the way thou must go. It was cast up by the Patriarchs, Prophets, Christ, and his Apostles; and it is as straight as a Rule can make it: This is the way thou must go.

Christian *directed yd on his way.* CHR. But said *Christian*, *Is there no turnings nor windings by which a Stranger may lose the way?*

GOOD WILL. Yes, there are many ways butt down upon to this; and they are crooked, and wide: But *thus* thou may'st distinguish the right from the wrong, *That* only being straight and narrow.

Christian *weary of his burden.* Then I saw in my Dream, That *Christian* asked him further, If he could not help him off with his burden that was upon his back; for as yet he had not got rid thereof, nor could he by any means get it off without help.

He told him; As to thy burden, be content to bear it, until thou comest to the *place* of Deliverance; for there it will fall from thy back itself.

20

Then *Christian* began to gird up his loins, and to address himself to his Journey. So the other told him, that by that he was gone some distance from the Gate, he would come at the House of the *Interpreter*; at whose Door he should knock; and he would shew him excellent things. Then *Christian* took his leave of his Friend, and he again bid him God speed.

Then he went on, till he came at the House of the *Interpreter*, where he knocked over and over: at last one came to the Door, and asked *Who was there?*

CHR. Sir, here is a Traveller, who was bid by an acquaintance of the Good-man of this House, to call here for my profit: I would therefore speak with the Master of the House. So he called for the Master of the House; who after a little time came to *Christian*, and asked him what he would have?

CHR. Sir, said *Christian*, I am a Man that am come from the City of *Destruction*, and am going to the Mount *Zion*, and I was told by the Man that stands at the Gate, at the head of

this way, That if I called here, you would shew me excellent things, such as would be an help to me in my Journey.

INTER. Then said the *Interpreter*, Come in, I will shew thee that which will be profitable to thee. So he commanded his Man to light the Candle, and bid *Christian* follow him; so he had him into a private Room, and bid his Man open a Door; the which when he had done, *Christian* saw the Picture of a very grave Person hang up against the Wall, and this was the fashion of it. *It had eyes lift up to Heaven, the best of Books in his hand, the Law of Truth was written upon his lips, the World was behind his back; it stood as if it pleaded with Men, and a Crown of Gold did hang over his head.*

He is entertained. Illumination.

Christian sees a brave Picture. The fashion of the Picture.

CHR. Then said *Christian*, What means this?

INTER. The Man whose Picture this is, is one of a thousand; he can beget Children, travel in birth with Children, and nurse them himself when they are born. And whereas thou seest him with his eyes lift up to Heaven, the best of Books in his hand, and the Law of Truth writ on his lips: it is to shew thee, that his work is to know and unfold dark things to sinners; even as also thou seest him stand as if he pleaded with Men: And whereas thou seest the World as cast behind him, and that a Crown hangs over his head; that is, to shew thee that slighting and despising the things that are present, for the love that he hath to his Masters service, he is sure in the World that comes next to have Glory for his Reward. Now, said the *Interpreter*, I have shewed thee this Picture first, because the Man whose Picture this is, is the only Man, whom the Lord of the Place whither thou art going, hath authorized to be thy Guide in all difficult places thou mayest meet with in the way: wherefore take good heed to what I have shewed thee, and bear well in thy mind what thou hast seen; lest in thy Journey thou meet with some that pretend to lead thee right, but their way goes down to death.

1 Cor. 4. 15. Gal. 4. 19. 1 Thess. 2. 7.

The meaning of the Picture.

Why he shewed him the Picture first.

Then he took him by the hand, and led him into a very large *Parlour* that was full of dust, because never swept; the which, after he had reviewed a little while, the *Interpreter* called for a man to sweep. Now when he began to sweep, the

dust began so abundantly to fly about, that *Christian* had almost therewith been choaked. Then said the *Interpreter* to a *Damsel* that stood by, Bring hither the Water, and sprinkle the Room; which when she had done, it was swept and cleansed with pleasure.

CHR. *Then said Christian, What means this?* {

INTER. The *Interpreter* answered; this Parlour is the heart of a Man that was never sanctified by the sweet Grace of the Gospel: the *dust*, is his Original Sin, and inward Corruptions that have defiled the whole Man. He that began to sweep at 10 first is the Law; but She that brought water, and did sprinkle it, is the Gospel. Now, whereas thou sawest that so soon as the first began to sweep, the dust did so fly about that the Room by him could not be cleansed, but that thou wast almost choaked therewith: this is to shew thee, that the Law, instead of cleansing the heart (by its working) from sin, doth revive, put strength into, and increase it in the soul, even as it doth discover and forbid it, but doth not give power to subdue.

Rom. 7. 6.

2 Cor. 13. 56.

Rom. 5. 20.

Again, as thou sawest the *Damsel* sprinkle the Room with 20 Water, upon which it was cleansed with pleasure; this is to shew thee, that when the Gospel comes in the sweet and precious influences thereof to the heart, then, I say, even as thou sawest the *Damsel* lay the dust by sprinkling the Floor with Water, so is sin vanquished and subdued, and the soul made clean, through the faith of it, and consequently fit for the King of Glory to inhabit.

John 15. 3.

Eph. 5. 26.

Acts 15. 9.

Rom. 16. 25.

26.

John 15. 13.

I saw moreover in my Dream, that the *Interpreter* took him by the hand, and had him into a little Room, where sate two little Children, each one in his Chair. The name of the eldest 30 was *Passion*, and of the other *Patience*. *Passion* seemed to be much discontent, but *Patience* was very quiet. Then *Christian* asked, What is the reason of the discontent of *Passion*? The *Interpreter* answered, The Governor of them would have him stay for his best things till the beginning of the next year; but he will have all now: But *Patience* is willing to wait.

He shewed

him *Passion*

and *Pa-*

tience.

Passion will

have all

now.

Patience is

for waiting.

~~The~~ *Patience* has

his desire.

Then I saw that one came to *Passion*, and brought him a Bag of Treasure, and poured it down at his feet; the which

he took up, and rejoiced therein; and withal, laughed *Patience* to scorn. But I beheld but a while, and he had lavished all away, and had nothing left him but Rags. And quickly lavishes all away.

CHR. *Then said Christian to the Interpreter, Expound this matter more fully to me.* The matter expounded.

INTER. So he said, These two Lads are Figures; *Passion*, of the Men of *this* World; and *Patience*, of the Men of *that* which is to come. For as here thou seest, *Passion* will have all now, this year; that is to say, in *this* World; So are the
 10 Men of this World: they must have all their good things now, they cannot stay till next *Year*; that is, until the *next* World, for their Portion of good. That Proverb, *A Bird in the Hand* The Worldly Man for a Bird in the hand. is of more Authority with them, than are all the Divine Testimonies of the good of the World to come. But as thou sawest, that he had quickly lavished all away, and had presently left him, nothing but Rags; so will it be with all such Men at the end of this World.

CHR. *Then said Christian, Now I see that Patience has the best Wisdom; and that upon many accounts.* 1. *Because he stays* Patience had the best Wisdom.
 20 *for the best things.* 2. *And also because he will have the glory of his, when the other hath nothing but Rags.*

INTER. Nay, you may add another; to wit, the Glory of the *next* world will never wear out; but these are suddenly gone. Therefore *Passion* had not so much reason to laugh at *Patience*, because he had his good things first, as *Patience* will have to laugh at *Passion*, because he had his best things *last*; for *first* must give place to *last*, because *last* must have his time
 to come, but *last* gives place to *nothing*; for there is not
 another to succeed. He therefore that hath his Portion *first*,
 30 must needs have a time to spend it; but he that has his Portion *last*, must have it lastingly. Therefore it is said of *Dives*, *In thy lifetime thou receivedest thy good things, and* Things that are first must give place, but things that are last, are lasting.
likewise Lazarus evil things; But now he is comforted, and thou Luke 16. Dives had his good things first.
art tormented.

CHR. *Then I perceive, 'tis not best to covet things that are now; but to wait for things to come.*

INTER. You say Truth; *For the things that are seen, are* 2 Cor. 4. The first things are
 Temporal; *but the things that are not seen, are Eternal.* But but Tempo-

though this be so; yet since things present, and our fleshly appetite, *are such near Neighbors one to another*; and again, because things to come, and carnal sense, are such strangers one to another: therefore it is, that the first of these so suddenly fall into *amity*, and that *distance* is so continued between the second.

Then I saw in my Dream, that the *Interpreter* took *Christian* by the hand, and led him into a place where was a Fire burning against a Wall, and one standing by it always, casting much Water upon it to quench it: yet did the Fire burn ¹⁰ higher and hotter.

Then said Christian, What means this?

The *Interpreter* answered, This fire is the work of Grace that is wrought in the heart; he that casts Water upon it, to extinguish and put it out, is the *Devil*: but in that thou seest the fire notwithstanding burn higher and hotter, thou shalt also see the reason of that: So he had him about to the back side of the Wall, where he saw a Man with a Vessel of Oil in his hand, of the which he did also continually cast (but secretly,) into the fire. Then said *Christian, What means* ²⁰ *this?* The *Interpreter* answered, This is *Christ*, who continually, with the Oil of his Grace, maintains the work already begun in the heart; by the means of which, notwithstanding what ^{■ Cor. 12. 9.} the Devil can do, the souls of his People prove gracious still. And in that thou sawest that the Man stood behind the Wall to maintain the fire; this is to teach thee, that it is hard for the tempted to see how this work of Grace is maintained in the soul.

I saw also that the *Interpreter* took him again by the hand, and led him into a pleasant place, where was builded a ³⁰ stately Palace, beautiful to behold; at the sight of which, *Christian* was greatly delighted; he saw also upon the top thereof, certain Persons walked, who were cloathed all in Gold. Then said *Christian, May we go in thither?* Then the *Interpreter* took him, and led him up toward the door of the Palace; and behold, at the door stood a great Company of men, as desirous to go in, but durst not. There also sat a Man, at a little distance from the door, at a Table-side, with

a Book, and his Inkhorn before him, to take the Name of him that should enter therein: He saw also that in the doorway, stood many Men in Armor to keep it; being resolved to do to the Man that would enter, what hurt and mischief they could. Now was *Christian* somewhat in a maze: at last, when every Man started back for fear of the armed men; *Christian* saw a Man of a very stout countenance come up to the Man that sat there to write; saying, *Set down my name, Sir*; the which when he had done, he saw the Man draw his Sword, *The Valiant Man.*
 10 and put an Helmet upon his Head, and rush toward the door upon the armed men, who laid upon him with deadly force; but the Man, not at all discouraged, fell to cutting and hacking most fiercely; so, after he had received and given many wounds to those that attempted to keep him out, he cut his way through them all, and pressed forward into the Palace; at which there was a pleasant voice heard from those that were within, even of those that walked upon the top of the Palace, saying,

Come in, Come in;

20

Eternal Glory thou shalt win.

So he went in, and was cloathed with such Garments as they. Then *Christian* smiled, and said, I think verily I know the meaning of this.

Now, said *Christian*, let me go hence: Nay stay (said the *Interpreter*,) till I have shewed thee a little more, and after that thou shalt go on thy way. So he took him by the hand again, and led him into a very dark Room, where there sat a Man in an Iron Cage.

Now the Man, to look on, seemed very sad: he sat with his *Despair like an Iron Cage.*
 30 eyes looking down to the ground, his hands folded together; and he sighed as if he would break his heart. Then said *Christian*, What means this? At which the *Interpreter* bid him talk with the Man.

CHR. Then said *Christian* to the Man, *What art thou?*
 The Man answered, *I am what I was not once.*

CHR. *What wast thou once?*

MAN. The *Man* said, I was once a fair and flourishing *Luke 8. 13*
 Professor, both in mine own eyes, and also in the eyes of

others: I once was, as I thought, fair for the Cœlestial City, and had then even joy at the thoughts that I should get thither.

CHR. *Well, but what art thou now?*

MAN. I am *now* a Man of Despair, and am shut up in it, as in this Iron Cage. I cannot get out; O *now* I cannot.

CHR. *But how camest thou in this condition?*

MAN. I left off to watch, and be sober; I laid the reins upon the neck of my lusts; I sinned against the light of the Word, and the goodness of God: I have grieved the Spirit, ¹⁰ and he is gone; I tempted the Devil, and he is come to me; I have provoked God to anger, and he has left me; I have so hardened my heart, that I *cannot* repent.

Then said *Christian* to the *Interpreter*, But is there no hopes for such a Man as this? Ask him, said the *Interpreter*.

CHR. Then said *Christian*, *Is there no hope but you must be kept in the Iron Cage of Despair?*

MAN. No, none at all.

CHR. *Why? The Son of the Blessed is very pitiful.*

MAN. I have crucified him to myself, afresh. I have ²⁰ despised his Person, I have despised his Righteousness, I have counted his Blood an unholy thing, I have done despite to the Spirit of Grace: Therefore I have shut myself out of all the Promises; and there now remains to me nothing but threatnings, dreadful threatnings, faithful threatnings of certain Judgment, which shall devour me as an Adversary.

Heb. 6. 6.

Luke 19. 14.

Heb. 10. 28, 29.

INTER. *For what did you bring yourself into this condition?*

MAN. For the Lusts, Pleasures, and Profits of this World; in the enjoyment of which, I did then promise my self much delight; but now every one of those things also bite me, and ³⁰ gnaw me like a burning worm.

INTER. *But canst thou not now repent and turn?*

MAN. God hath denied me repentance; his Word gives me no encouragement to believe; yea, himself hath shut me up in this Iron Cage; nor can all the men in the World let me out. O Eternity! Eternity! how shall I grapple with the misery that I must meet with in Eternity!

INTER. Then said the *Interpreter* to *Christian*, Let this

mans misery be remembred by thee, and be an everlasting caution to thee.

CHR. Well, said *Christian*, this is fearful; God help me to watch and be sober; and to pray, that I may shun the causes of this mans misery. Sir, is it not time for me to go on my way now?

INTER. Tarry till I shall shew thee one thing more, and then thou shalt go on thy way.

So he took *Christian* by the hand again, and led him into a
 10 Chamber, where there was one rising out of Bed; and as he
 put on his Raiment, he shook and trembled. Then said
Christian, Why doth this Man thus tremble? The *Interpreter*
 then bid him tell to *Christian* the reason of his so doing. So
 he began, and said: This night as I was in my sleep, I
 Dreamed, and behold the Heavens grew exceeding black;
 also it thundred and lightned in most fearful wise, that it put
 me into an Agony. So I looked up in my Dream, and saw
 the Clouds rack at an unusual rate; upon which I heard a
 great sound of a Trumpet, and saw also a Man sit upon a
 20 Cloud, attended with the thousands of Heaven; they were all
 in flaming fire, also the Heavens were on a burning flame.
 I heard then a voice, saying, *Arise ye Dead, and come to*
Judgment; and with that, the Rocks rent, the Graves opened,
 & the Dead that were therein, came forth; some of them
 were exceeding glad, and looked upward; and some sought to
 hide themselves under the Mountains. Then I saw the Man
 that sat upon the Cloud, open the Book; and bid the World
 draw near. Yet there was by reason of a fierce flame that
 issued out and came from before him, a convenient distance
 30 betwixt him and them, as betwixt the Judge and the Prisoners
 at the Bar. I heard it also proclaimed to them that attended
 on the Man that sat on the Cloud; *Gather together the Tares,*
the Chaff, and Stubble, and cast them into the burning Lake; and
 with that, the bottomless pit opened, just whereabout I stood;
 out of the mouth of which there came in an abundant manner
 Smoke, and Coals of fire, with hideous noises. It was also
 said to the same persons; *Gather my Wheat into the Garner.*
 And with that I saw many catch'd up and carried away into

1 Cor. 15. 52.

1 Thess. 4. 16.

Jude 15.

2 Thess. 1. 8.

John 5. 28.

Rev. 20. 11,

12, 13, 14.

Isa. 26. 21.

Mic. 7. 16, 17.

Ps. 50. 1, 2, 3.

Dan. 7. 10.

Mal. 3. 2, 3.

Dan. 7. 9, 10.

Matth. 3. 12.

Chap. 13. 30.

Mal. 4. 1.

Luke 3. 17.

1 Thess. 4.

16, 17.

Rom. 2. 14.
15

the Clouds, but I was left behind. I also sought to hide myself, but I could not; for the Man that sat upon the Cloud, still kept his eye upon me: my sins also came into my mind, and my Conscience did accuse me on every side. Upon this I awaked from my sleep.

CHR. *But what was it that made you so afraid of this sight?*

MAN. Why I thought the day of Judgement was come, and that I was not ready for it: but this frightened me most, that the Angels gathered up several, and left me behind; also the pit of Hell opened her mouth just where I stood: my 10 Conscience too afflicted me; and as I thought, the Judge had always his eye upon me, shewing indignation in his countenance.

* Then said the *Interpreter* to *Christian*, *Hast thou considered all these things?*

CHR. Yes, and they put me in *hope* and *fear*.

INTER. Well, keep all things so in thy mind, that they may be as a *Goad* in thy sides, to prick thee forward in the way thou must go. Then *Christian* began to gird up his loins, and to address himself to his Journey. Then said the *Interpreter*, 20 The Comforter be always with thee good *Christian*, to guide thee in the way that leads to the City.

So *Christian* went on his way, saying,

*Here have I seen things rare and profitable; *
Things pleasant, dreadful; things to make me stable
In what I have began to take in hand:
Then let me think on them, and understand
Wherefore they shew'd me was, and let me be
Thankful, O good Interpreter, to thee.*

1sa. 40. 1.

Now I saw in my Dream, that the highway up which 30 *Christian* was to go, was fenced on either side with a Wall, and that Wall is called *Salvation*. Up this way therefore did burdened *Christian* run, but not without great difficulty, because of the load on his back.

He ran thus till he came at a place somewhat ascending; and upon that place stood a *Cross*, and a little below in the bottom, a Sepulchre. So I saw in my Dream, that just as

Christian came up with the *Cross*, his burden loosed from off his Shoulders, and fell from off his back, and began to tumble; and so continued to do, till it came to the mouth of the Sepulchre, where it fell in, and I saw it no more.¹

Then was *Christian* glad and lightsome, and said with a merry heart, *He hath given me rest, by his sorrow; and life, by his death.* Then he stood still a while, to look and wonder; for it was very surprising to him, that the sight of the *Cross* should thus ease him of his burden. He looked therefore, and ¹⁰ looked again, even till the springs that were in his head sent the waters down his cheeks. Now as he stood looking and weeping, behold three shining ones came to him, and saluted him, with *Peace be to thee*: so the first said to him, *Thy sins* ^{Mark 2. 5.} *be forgiven.* The second, stript him of his Rags, and cloathed him with change of Raiment. The third also set a mark in ^{Zech. 3. 4.} his forehead, and gave him a Roll with a Seal upon it, which ^{Ephes. 1. 13.} he bid him look on as he ran, and that he should give it in at the Cœlestial Gate; so they went their way. Then *Christian* gave three leaps for joy, and went on singing,

20 *Thus far did I come loaden with my sin;
Nor could ought ease the grief that I was in,
Till I came hither: What a place is this!
Must here be the beginning of my bliss?
Must here the burden fall from off my back?
Must here the strings that bound it to me crack?
Blest Cross! blest Sepulchre! blest rather be
The Man that there was put to shame for me.*

*A Christian
can sing tho'
alone, when
God doth
give him the
joy of his
heart.*

I saw then in my Dream that he went on *thus*, even until he came at a bottom, where he saw, a little out of the way, ³⁰ three Men fast asleep with Fetters upon their heels. The name of the one was *Simple*, another *Sloth*, and the third *Presumption*.

*Simple,
Sloth, and
Presump-
tion.*

Christian then seeing them lie in this case, went to them, if

1 Who's this; the Pilgrim. How! 'tis very true,
(Old things are past away, all's become new.
Strange! he's another man upon my word,
They be fine Feathers that make a fine Bird.

peradventure he might awake them. And cried, You are like
 Prov. 23. 34. them that sleep on the top of a Mast, for the dead Sea is
 under you, a Gulf that hath no bottom. Awake therefore and
 come away; be willing also, and I will help you off with your
 Irons. He also told them, If he that goeth about like a
 1 Pet. 5. 8. roaring Lion comes by, you will certainly become a prey to his
 teeth. With that they lookt upon him, and began to reply
 in this sort: *Simple* said, *I see no danger*; *Sloth* said, *Yet a little*
There is no persuasion will do, if God openeth not the eyes. *more sleep*: and *Presumption* said, *Every Fatt must stand upon his*
own bottom. And so they lay down to sleep again, and 10
Christian went on his way.

Yet was he troubled to think that men in that danger
 should so little esteem the kindness of him that so freely
 offered to help them; both by awakening of them, coun-
 seling of them, and proffering to help them off with their
 Irons. And as he was troubled thereabout, he espied two
 Men come tumbling over the Wall, on the left hand of the
 narrow way; and they made up apace to him. The name of
 the one was *Formalist*, and the name of the other *Hypocrisy*.
 So, as I said, they drew up unto him, who thus entered with 20
 them into discourse.

*Christian
 talked with
 them.*

CHR. *Gentlemen, Whence came you, and whither do you go?*

FORM. and HYP. We were born in the land of Vain-glory,
 and are going for praise to Mount Sion.

CHR. *Why came you not in at the Gate which standeth at the*
 John 10. 1. *beginning of the way? Know you not that it is written, That he*
that cometh not in by the door, but climbeth up some other way, the
same is a thief and a robber?

FORM. and HYP. They said, That to go to the Gate for
 entrance, was by all their Countrymen counted too far 30
 about; and that therefore their usual way was to make a
 short cut of it, and to climb over the wall as they had done.

CHR. *But will it not be counted a Trespass against the Lord of*
the City whither we are bound, thus to violate his revealed
will?

*They that
 come into
 the way, but
 are by the*

FORM. and HYP. They told him, That as for that, he
 needed not to trouble his head thereabout: for what they
 did, they had custom for; and could produce, if need were,

Testimony that would witness it, for more than a thousand years.

CHR. *But, said Christian, will your practice stand a Trial at Law?*

FORM. and HYP. They told him, That Custom, it being of so long a standing, as above a thousand years, would doubtless now be admitted as a thing legal, by an Impartial Judge. And besides, said they, if we get into the way, what's matter which way we get in? If we are in, we are in: thou art but in the way, who, as we perceive, came in at the Gate; and we are also in the way, that came tumbling over the wall. Wherein now is thy condition better than ours?

CHR. I walk by the *Rule* of my Master, you walk by the rude working of your fancies. You are counted thieves already, by the Lord of the way; therefore I doubt you will not be found true men at the end of the way. You come in by yourselves without his direction, and shall go out by yourselves without his mercy.

20 To this they made him but little answer; only they bid him look to himself. Then I saw that they went on every man in his way, without much conference one with another; save that these two men told *Christian*, That, as to *Laws and Ordinances*, they doubted not but they should as conscientiously do them as he. Therefore said they, We see not wherein thou differest from us, but by the Coat that is on thy back, which was, as we tro, given thee by some of thy Neighbors, to hide the shame of thy nakedness.

CHR. By Laws and Ordinances, you will not be saved, since you came not in by the door. And as for this Coat that is on my back, it was given me by the Lord of the place

whither I go; and that, as you say, to cover my nakedness with. And I take it as a token of his kindness to me, for I had nothing but rags before. And besides, thus I comfort myself as I go: Surely, think I, when I come to the Gate of the City, the Lord thereof will know me for good, since I have his Coat on my back; a Coat that he gave me freely in the day that he stript me of my rags. I have

door, think that they can say something in vindication of their own Practice.

Christian has got his Lord's Coat on his back, and is comforted there-with; he is comforted also with his Mark and his Roll.

moreover a mark in my forehead, of which perhaps you have taken no notice, which one of my Lords most intimate Associates, fixed there in the day that my burden fell off my shoulders. I will tell you moreover, that I had then given me a Roll sealed to comfort me by reading, as I go in the way; I was also bid to give it in at the Cœlestial Gate, in token of my certain going in after it: all which things I doubt you want, and want them because you came not in at the Gate.

Christian
has talk
with him-
self.

To these things they gave him no answer, only they looked upon each other and *laughed*. Then I saw that they went on all, save that *Christian* kept before, who had no more talk but with himself, and that sometimes sighingly, and sometimes comfortably: also he would be often reading in the Roll that one of the shining ones gave him, by which he was refreshed.

He comes to
the hill
Difficulty.

I beheld then, that they all went on till they came to the foot of the Hill *Difficulty*, at the bottom of which was a Spring. There was also in the same place two other ways besides that which came straight from the Gate; one turned to the left hand, and the other to the right, at the bottom of the Hill: but the narrow way lay right up the Hill (and the name of the going up the side of the Hill, is called *Difficulty*.) *Christian* now went to the Spring and drank thereof to refresh himself, and then began to go up the Hill; saying,

Isa. 40. 30.

*This Hill, though high, I covet to ascend;
The difficulty will not me offend;
For I perceive the way to life lies here;
Come, pluck up, Heart; let's neither faint nor fear:
Better, tho' difficult, th'right way to go,
Than wrong, though easy, where the end is wo.*

30

The other two also came to the foot of the Hill. But when they saw that the Hill was steep and high, and that there was two other ways to go; and supposing also, that these two ways might meet again with that up which *Christian* went, on the other side of the Hill; therefore they were resolved to go in those ways (now the name of one of those ways was

Danger, and the name of the other *Destruction*.) So the one took the way which is called *Danger*, which led him into a great Wood; and the other took directly up the way to *Destruction*, which led him into a wide field full of dark Mountains, where he stumbled and fell, and rose no more.¹

*The danger
of turning
out of the
way.*

I looked then after *Christian*, to see him go up the Hill, where I perceived he fell from running to going, and from going to clambering upon his hands and his knees, because of the steepness of the place. Now about the midway
10 to the top of the Hill, was a pleasant *Arbor*, made by the Lord of the Hill, for the refreshing of weary Travellers. Thither therefore *Christian* got, where also he sat down to rest him. Then he pull'd his Roll out of his bosom and read therein to his comfort; he also now began afresh to take a review of the Coat or Garment that was given him as he stood by the Cross. Thus pleasing himself a while, he at last fell into a slumber, and thence into a fast sleep, which detained him in that place until it was almost night, and in his sleep his Roll
20 fell out of his hand. Now as he was sleeping, there came one to him, and awaked him saying, *Go to the Ant, thou*
sluggard, consider her ways and be wise. And with that *Christian* suddenly started up, and sped him on his way, and went apace till he came to the top of the Hill.

*A ward of
grace.*

*He that
sleeps is a
loser.*

Prov. 6. 6.

Now when he was got up to the top of the Hill, there came two men running against him amain; the name of the one was *Timorous*, and the name of the other *Mistrust*, to whom *Christian* said, Sirs, what's the matter you run the wrong way? *Timorous* answered, That they were going to the City of *Zion*, and had got up that *difficult* place; but, said
30 he, the further we go, the more danger we meet with, wherefore we turned, and are going back again.

*Christian
meets with
Mistrust and
Timorous.*

Yes, said *Mistrust*, for just before us lie a couple of Lions in the way, (whether sleeping or waking we know not); and

1 Shall they who wrong begin yet rightly end?
Shall they at all have safety for their friend?
No, no, in headstrong manner they set out,
And headlong will they fall at last no doubt.

we could not think, if we came within reach, but they would presently pull us to pieces.

Christian
shakes off
fear.

CHR. Then said *Christian*, You make me afraid, but whither shall I fly to be safe? If I go back to mine own Country, *That* is prepared for Fire and Brimstone; and I shall certainly perish there. If I can get to the Cœlestial City, I am sure to be in safety there. I must venture. To go back is nothing but death; to go forward is fear of death, and life everlasting beyond it. I will yet go forward. So *Mistrust* and *Timorous* ran down the Hill; and *Christian* went on his way. But ¹⁰

Christian
misses his
Roll where-
in he used to
take Com-
fort.

He is per-
plexed for
his Roll.

thinking again of what he heard from the men, he felt in his bosom for his Roll, that he might read therein and be comforted; but he felt and found it not. Then was *Christian* in great distress, and knew not what to do, for he wanted that which used to relieve him, and that which should have been his Pass into the Cœlestial City. Here therefore he began to be much perplexed, and knew not what to do; at last he bethought himself that he had slept in the *Arbor* that is on the side of the Hill: and falling down upon his knees, he asked God forgiveness for that his foolish Fact; and then ²⁰ went back to look for his Roll. But all the way he went back, who can sufficiently set forth the sorrow of *Christians* heart? sometimes he sighed, sometimes he wept, and often times he chid himself, for being so foolish to fall asleep in that place which was erected only for a little refreshment from his weariness. Thus therefore he went back; carefully looking on this side and on that, all the way as he went, if happily he might find his Roll, that had been his comfort so many times in his Journey. He went thus till he came again within sight of the *Arbor*, where he sat and slept; but that sight renewed ³⁰

Christian
bemoans his
foolish
sleeping. ^v
Rev. ii. 5.
1 Thess. 5.
7. 8.

his sorrow the more, by bringing again, even afresh, his evil of sleeping into his mind. Thus therefore he now went on bemoaning his sinful sleep, saying, *O wretched Man that I am*, that I should sleep in the day-time! that I should sleep in the midst of difficulty! that I should so indulge the flesh, as to use *that* rest for ease to my flesh, which the Lord of the Hill hath erected only for the relief of the spirits of Pilgrims! How many steps have I took in vain! (Thus it happened to

Israel for their sin, they were sent back again by the way of the Red-Sea.) and I am made to tread those steps with sorrow, which I might have trod with delight, had it not been for this sinful sleep. How far might I have been on my way by this time! I am made to tread those steps thrice over, which I needed not to have trod but once: Yea now also I am like to be benighted, for the day is almost spent. O that I had not slept! Now by this time he was come to the *Arbor* again, where for awhile he sat down and wept, but at last (as *Christian* would have it) looking sorrowfully down under the Settle, there he espied his Roll; the which he with trembling and haste catch'd up, and put it into his bosom. But who can tell how joyful this Man was, when he had gotten his Roll again! For this Roll was the assurance of his life and acceptance at the desired Haven. Therefore he laid it up in his bosom, gave thanks to God for directing his eye to the place where it lay, and with joy and tears betook himself again to his Journey. But Oh how nimbly now did he go up the rest of the Hill! Yet before he got up, the Sun went down upon *Christian*; and this made him again recall the vanity of his sleeping to his remembrance, and thus he again began to condole with himself: *Oh thou sinful sleep! how for thy sake am I like to be benighted in my Journey! I must walk without the Sun, darkness must cover the path of my feet, and I must hear the noise of doleful Creatures, because of my sinful sleep!* Now also he remembered the story that *Mistrust* and *Timorous* told him of, how they were frighted with the sight of the Lions. Then said *Christian* to himself again, These Beasts range in the night for their prey, and if they should meet with me in the dark, how should I shift them? how should I escape being by them torn in pieces? Thus he went on his way, but while he was thus bewailing his unhappy miscarriage, he lift up his eyes, and behold there was a very stately Palace before him, the name of which was *Beautiful*, and it stood just by the Highway side.

So I saw in my Dream, that he made haste and went forward, that if possible he might get Lodging there; now before he had gone far, he entered into a very narrow passage,

*Christian:
findeth his
Roll where
he lost it.*

which was about a furlong off of the Porter's Lodge, and looking very narrowly before him as he went, he espied two Lions in the way. Now, thought he, I see the dangers that *Mistrust* and *Timorous* were driven back by. (The Lions were chained, but he saw not the Chains.) Then he was afraid, and thought also himself to go back after them, for he thought nothing but death was before him. But the *Porter* at the Lodge, whose Name is *Watchful*, perceiving that *Christian* made a halt, as if he would go back, cried unto him, saying, Is thy strength so small? fear not the Lions, for they are 10 chained: and are placed there for trial of faith where it is; and for discovery of those that have none: keep in the midst of the Path, and no hurt shall come unto thee.

Mark 13. 34.

Then I saw that he went on, trembling for fear of the Lions; but taking good heed to the directions of the *Porter*; he heard them roar, but they did him no harm. Then he clapt his hands, and went on, till he came and stood before the Gate where the *Porter* was¹. Then said *Christian* to the *Porter*, Sir, What house is this? and may I lodge here to night? The *Porter* answered, This House was built by the 20 Lord of the Hill, and he built it for the relief and security of Pilgrims. The *Porter* also asked whence he was, and whither he was going?

CHR. I am come from the City of *Destruction*, and am going to Mount *Zion*, but because the Sun is now set, I desire, if I may, to lodge here to night.

POR. *What is your name?*

CHR. My name is now *Christian*; but my name at the first was *Graceless*: I came of the Race of *Japhet*, whom God will perswade to dwell in the Tents of *Shem*. 30

Gen. 9. 27.

POR. *But how doth it happen that you come so late? the Sun is set.*

CHR. I had been here sooner, but that, wretched man that I am! I slept in the *Arbor* that stands on the Hill side; nay,

¹ Difficult is behind, Fear is before,
Though he's got on the Hill, the Lions roar;
A Christian man is never long at ease,
When one fright's gone, another doth him seize.

I had notwithstanding that, been here much sooner, but that in my sleep I lost my evidence, and came without it to the brow of the Hill; and then feeling for it, and finding it not, I was forced with sorrow of heart to go back to the place where I slept my sleep, where I found it, and now I am come.

POR. Well, I will call out one of the Virgins of this place, who will, if she likes your talk, bring you in to the rest of the Family, according to the Rules of the House. So *Watchful*
10 the *Porter* rang a Bell, at the sound of which came out at the door of the House a grave and beautiful Damsel, named *Discretion*, and asked why she was called.

The *Porter* answered, This Man is in a Journey from the City of *Destruction* to Mount *Zion*, but being weary, and benighted, he asked me if he might lodge here to night; so I told him I would call for thee, who, after discourse had with him, mayest do as seemeth thee good, even according to the Law of the House.

Then she asked him whence he was, and whither he was
20 going, and he told her. She asked him also, how he got into the way, and he told her. Then she asked him, What he had seen, and met with in the way, and he told her; and last, she asked his name, so he said, It is *Christian*; and I have so much the more a desire to lodge here tonight, because, by what I perceive, this place was built by the Lord of the Hill, for the relief and security of Pilgrims. So she smiled, but the water stood in her eyes: and after a little pause, she said, I will call forth two or three more of the Family. So she ran to the door, and called out *Prudence*, *Piety*, and *Charity*, who after a
30 little more discourse with him, had him in to the Family; and many of them meeting him at the threshold of the house, said, Come in thou blessed of the Lord; this House was built by the Lord of the Hill, on purpose to entertain such Pilgrims in. Then he bowed his head, and followed them into the House. So when he was come in, and set down, they gave him something to drink; and consented together that until supper was ready, some of them should have some particular discourse with *Christian*, for the best improvement

of time: and they appointed *Piety*, and *Prudence*, and *Charity*, to discourse with him; and thus they began.

Piety discourses him.

PI. Come good Christian, since we have been so loving to you, to receive you into our House this night; let us, if perhaps we may better ourselves thereby, talk with you of all things that have happened to you in your Pilgrimage.

CHR. With a very good will, and I am glad that you are so well disposed.

PI. What moved you at first to betake yourself to a Pilgrims life?

10

How Christian was driven out of his own Country.

CHR. I was driven out of my Native Country, by a dreadful sound that was in mine ears, to wit, That unavoidable destruction did attend me, if I abode in that place where I was.

PI. But how did it happen that you came out of your Country this way?

How he got into the Way to Slon.

CHR. It was as God would have it, for when I was under the fears of destruction, I did not know whither to go; but by chance there came a man, even to me, (as I was trembling and weeping) whose name is *Evangelist*, and he directed me to the Wicket-Gate, which else I should never have found; and so set me into the way that hath led me directly to this House.

PI. But did you not come by the House of the Interpreter?

A rehearsal of what he saw in the way.

CHR. Yes, and did see such things there, the remembrance of which will stick by me as long as I live; specially three things, to wit, How Christ, in despite of Satan, maintains his work of Grace in the heart; how the Man had sinned himself quite out of hopes of Gods mercy; and also the Dream of him that thought in his sleep the day of Judgment was come.

PI. Why? Did you bear him tell his Dream?

30

CHR. Yes, and a dreadful one it was. I thought it made my heart ake as he was telling of it; but yet I am glad I heard it.

PI. Was that all that you saw at the House of the Interpreter?

CHR. No, he took me and had me where he shewed me a stately Palace, and how the People were clad in Gold that were in it; and how there came a venturous Man, and cut his

way through the armed men that stood in the door to keep him out; and how he was bid to come in, and win eternal Glory. Methought those things did ~~ravish~~ my heart; I would have stayed at that good Mans house a twelvemonth, but that I knew I had further to go.

PI. *And what saw you else in the way?*

CHR. Saw! Why I went but a little further, and I saw one, as I thought in my mind, hang bleeding upon the Tree; and the very sight of him made my burden fall off my back
 10 (for I groaned under a heavy burden) but then it fell down from off me. 'Twas a strange thing to me, for I never saw such a thing before: yea, and while I stood looking up, (for then I could not forbear looking) three shining ones came to me: one of them testified that my sins were forgiven me; another stript me of my rags, and gave me this brodered Coat which you see; and the third set the mark which you see, in my forehead, and gave me this sealed Roll (and with that he plucked it out of his bosom.)

PI. *But you saw more than this, did you not?*

CHR. The things that I have told you were the best: yet
 20 some other matters I saw, as namely I saw three Men, *Simple*, *Sloth*, and *Presumption*, lie asleep a little out of the way as I came, with Irons upon their heels; but do you think I could awake them? I also saw *Formalist* and *Hypocrisy* come tumbling over the wall, to go, as they pretended, to *Sion*, but they were quickly lost; even as I myself did tell them, but they would not believe. But, above all, I found it *hard* work to get up this Hill, and as *hard* to come by the Lions mouth; and truly if it had not been for the good Man, the Porter
 30 that stands at the Gate, I do not know but that, after all, I might have gone back again: but now I thank God I am here, and I thank you for receiving of me.

Then *Prudence* thought good to ask him a few questions, and desired his answer to them.

PRU. *Do you not think sometimes of the Country from whence
 you come?*

CHR. Yes, but with much shame and detestation; Truly,
 if I had been mindful of that Country from whence I came out,

*Prudence
 discourses
 him.
 Christians
 thoughts of
 his Native
 Country.
 Heb. 11. 15.
 16.*

I might have had opportunity to have returned, but now I desire a better Country, that is, an Heavenly.

PRU. *Do you not yet bear away with you some of the things that then you were conversant withal?*

Christian
distasted
with carnal
cogitations.

Christians
choice.
Rom. 7.

CHR. Yes, but greatly against my will; especially my inward and carnal cogitations; with which all my Country-men, as well as myself, were delighted; but now all those things are my grief: and might I but chuse mine own things, I would chuse never to think of those things more; but when I would be doing of that which is best, that which is worst is so with me.

PRU. *Do you not find sometimes, as if those things were vanquished, which at other times are your perplexity?*

Christians
golden
hours.

CHR. Yes, but that is but seldom; but they are to me golden hours, in which such things happen to me.

PRU. *Can you remember by what means you find your annoyances at times, as if they were vanquished?*

How Chris-
tian gets
power
against his
corruptions.

CHR. Yes, when I think what I saw at the Cross, that will do it; and when I look upon my brodered Coat, that will do it; also when I look into the Roll that I carry in my bosom, that will do it; and when my thoughts wax warm about whither I am going, that will do it.

PRU. *And what is it that makes you so desirous to go to Mount Zion?*

Why Chris-
tian would
be at Mount
Zion.

Isa. 25. 8.
Rev. 21. 4.

CHR. Why, there I hope to see him *alive*, that did hang dead on the Cross; and there I hope to be rid of all those things, that to this day are in me an annoyance to me; there they say there is no death, and there I shall dwell with such Company as I like best. For to tell you truth, I love him, because I was by him eased of my burden, and I am weary of my inward sickness; I would fain be where I shall die no more, and with the Company that shall continually cry *Holy, Holy, Holy*.

Charity dis-
courses him.

Then said Charity to Christian, *Have you a family? are you a married man?*

CHR. I have a Wife and four small Children.

CHA. *And why did you not bring them along with you?*

Christians
love to his

CHR. Then Christian wept, and said, Oh how willingly

would I have done it, but they were all of them utterly averse Wife and Children.
to my going on Pilgrimage.

CHA. *But you should have talked to them, and have endeavoured to have shewen them the danger of being behind.*

CHR. So I did, and told them also what God had shewed to me of the destruction of our City; but I seemed to them as Gen. 19. 14.
one that mocked, and they believed me not.

CHA. *And did you pray to God that he would bless your counsel to them?*

10 CHR. Yes, and that with much affection; for you must think that my Wife and poor Children were very dear unto me.

CHA. *But did you tell them of your own sorrow, and fear of destruction? for I suppose that destruction was visible enough to you?*

CHR. Yes, over, and over, and over. They might also see Christian's fears of perishing might be read in his very countenance.
my fears in my countenance, in my tears, and also in my trembling under the apprehension of the Judgment that did hang over our heads; but all was not sufficient to prevail with
20 them to come with me.

CHA. *But what could they say for themselves why they came not?*

CHR. Why, my Wife was afraid of losing this World; and The cause why his Wife and Children did not go with him.
my Children were given to the foolish delights of youth: so what by one thing, and what by another, they left me to wander in this manner alone.

CHA. *But did you not with your vain life, damp all that you by words used by way of perswasion to bring them away with you?*

30 CHR. Indeed I cannot commend my life; for I am conscious to myself of many failings: therein, I know also that a man by his conversation, may soon overthrow what by argument
40 or perswasion he doth labour to fasten upon others for their good: Yet, this I can say, I was very wary of giving them occasion, by any unseemly action, to make them averse to going on Pilgrimage. Yea, for this very thing, they would tell me I was too precise, and that I denied myself of sins Christian's good conversation before his Wife and Children.
(for their sakes) in which they saw no evil. Nay, I think

I may say, that, if what they saw in me did hinder them, it was my great tenderness in sinning against God, or of doing any wrong to my Neighbor:

1 John 3. 12. CHA. *Indeed, Cain hated his Brother, because his own works were evil, and his Brother's righteous; and if thy Wife and Children have been offended with thee for this, they thereby shew themselves to be implacable to good; and thou hast delivered thy soul from their blood.*
 Christian clear of their blood if they perish.
 Ezek. 3. 19.

Now I saw in my Dream, that thus they sat talking together until supper was ready. So when they had made ready, they 10

sat down to meat; Now the Table was furnished with fat things, and with Wine that was well refined; and all their talk at the Table, was about the LORD of the Hill: As namely, about what HE had done, and wherefore HE did what HE did, and why HE had builded that House: and by what they said, I perceived that HE had been a *great Warrior*, and had fought with and slain him that had the power of Death, but not without great danger to himself, which made me love him the more.

Heb. 2. 14,
15

For, as they said, and as I believe (said *Christian*) he did it 20 with the loss of much blood; but that which put Glory of Grace into all he did, was, that he did it of pure love to his Country. And besides, there were some of them of the Household that said they had seen and spoke with him since he did die on the Cross; and they have attested, that they had it from his own lips, that he is such a lover of poor Pilgrims, that the like is not to be found from the East to the West.

They moreover gave an instance of what they affirmed, and that was, He had stript himself of his glory that he might do 30 this for the Poor; and that they heard him say and affirm, That he would not dwell in the Mountain of *Zion* alone. They said moreover, That he had made many Pilgrims Princes, though by nature they were Beggars born, and their original had been the Dunghil.

Christ makes Princes of Beggars.
 1 Sam. 8. 8.
 Ps. 113. 7.

Thus they discoursed together till late at night, and after they had committed themselves to their Lord for Protection, they betook themselves to rest. The Pilgrim they laid in

a large upper Chamber, whose window opened towards the Christians
Sunrising; the name of the Chamber was *Peace*, where he ^{Red-chamber.}
slept till break of day; and then he awoke and sang,

*Where am I now! is this the love and care
Of Jesus for the men that Pilgrims are!
Thus to provide! That I should be forgiven!
And dwell already the next door to Heaven!*

So in the Morning they all ~~got~~ up, and after some more discourse, they told him that he should not depart, till they
10 had shewed him the *Rarities* of that place. And first they had him into the Study, where they shewed him Records of the Christian
greatest *Antiquity*: in which, as I remember my Dream, they ^{had into the Study, and what he saw there.}
shewed him first the Pedigree of the Lord of the Hill, that he was the Son of the Ancient of Days, and came by an eternal Generation. Here also was more fully recorded the Acts that he had done, and the names of many hundreds that he had taken into his service; and how he had placed them in such Habitations that could neither by length of Days, nor decays of Nature, be dissolved.

20 Then they read to him some of the worthy Acts that some of his Servants had done. As how they had subdued Kingdoms, wrought Righteousness, obtained Promises, stopped the mouths of Lions, quenched the violence of Fire, escaped the edge of
the Sword; out of weakness were made strong, waxed valiant ^{Heb. 11. 33.}
34 in fight, and turned to flight the Armies of the *Aliens*.

Then they read again in another part of the Records of the House, where it was shewed how willing their Lord was to receive into his favour any, even any, though they in time past had offered great affronts to his Person and proceedings.
30 Here also were several other Histories of many other famous things, of all which *Christian* had a view. As of things both Ancient and Modern; together with Prophecies and Predictions of things that have their certain accomplishment, both to the dread and amazement of enemies, and the comfort and solace of Pilgrims.

The next day they took him and had him into the Armory; Christian
where they shewed him all manner of Furniture, which their ^{had into the Armory.}

Lord had provided for Pilgrims, as Sword, Shield, Helmet, Breast plate, *All Prayer*, and Shoes that would not wear out. And there was here enough of this to harness out as many men for the service of their Lord, as there be Stars in the Heaven for multitude.

Christian is made to see Ancient Things.

They also shewed him some of the Engines with which some of his Servants had done wonderful things. They shewed him *Moses's* Rod, the Hammer and Nail with which *Jael* slew *Sisera*, the Pitchers, Trumpets, and Lamps too, with which *Gideon* put to flight the Armies of *Midian*. Then they shewed 10 him the Ox's goad wherewith *Shamgar* slew six hundred men. They shewed him also the Jaw bone with which *Samson* did such mighty feats; they shewed him moreover the Sling and Stone with which *David* slew *Goliath* of *Gath*: and the Sword also with which their Lord will kill the Man of Sin, in the day that he shall rise up to the prey. They shewed him besides many excellent things, with which *Christian* was much delighted. This done, they went to their rest again.

Christian shewed the delectable Mountains.

Then I saw in my Dream, that on the morrow he got up to go forwards, but they desired him to stay till the next day 20 also, and then said they, we will, (if the day be clear,) shew you the delectable Mountains, which they said, would yet further add to his comfort, because they were nearer the desired Haven than the place where at present he was. So he consented and staid. When the Morning was up they had him to the top of the House, and bid him look South, so he did; and behold at a great distance he saw a most pleasant Mountainous Country, beautified with Woods, Vineyards, Fruits of all sorts; Flowers also, with Springs and Fountains, very delectable to behold. Then he asked the name of the 30 Country, they said it was *Immanuel's Land*; and it is as common, said they, as this *Hill* is, to and for all the Pilgrims. And when thou comest there, from thence, said they, thou mayest see to the Gate of the *Cœlestial City*, as the Shepherds that live there will make appear.

Christian sets forward.

Now he bethought himself of setting forward, and they were willing he should: but first, said they, let us go again into the Armory. So they did; and when he came there, they

harnessed him from head to foot with what was of proof, lest Christian sent away Armed. perhaps he should meet with assaults in the way. He being therefore thus accoutred walketh out with his friends to the Gate, and there he asked the *Porter* if he saw any Pilgrims pass by, Then the *Porter* answered, Yes.

CHR. Pray did you know him? said he.

POR. I asked his name, and he told me it was *Faithful*.

CHR. O, said *Christian*, I know him, he is my Townsman, my near Neighbor, he comes from the place where I was
10 born: how far do you think he may be before?

POR. He is got by this time below the Hill.

CHR. Well, said *Christian*, good *Porter*, the Lord be with thee, and add to all thy blessings much increase, for the kindness How Christian and the Porter greet at parting. that thou hast shewed to me.

Then he began to go forward, but *Discretion*, *Piety*, *Charity*, and *Prudence*, would accompany him down to the foot of the Hill. So they went on together, reiterating their former discourses till they came to go down the Hill. Then said *Christian*, As it was *difficult* coming up, so (so far as I can see) it is *dangerous*
20 going down. Yes, said *Prudence*, so it is; for it is an hard matter for a man to go down into the valley of *Humiliation*, as The Valley of Humiliation. thou art now, and to catch no slip by the way; therefore, said they, are we come out to accompany thee down the Hill. So he began to go down, but very warily, yet he caught a slip or too¹.

Then I saw in my Dream, that these good Companions, (when *Christian* was gone down to the bottom of the Hill,) gave him a loaf of Bread, a bottle of Wine, and a cluster of Raisins; and then he went on his way.

30 But now in this Valley of *Humiliation* poor *Christian* was hard put to it, for he had gone but a little way before he espied a foul *Fiend* coming over the field to meet him; his name is *Apollyon*. Then did *Christian* begin to be afraid, and to cast in his mind whether to go back, or to stand his ground.

¹ Whilst *Christian* is among his godly friends,
Their golden mouths make him sufficient 'mends,
For all his griefs, and when they let him go,
He's clad with northern steel from top to toe.

*Christian no
Armor for
his back.*

*Christians
resolution
on the ap-
proach of
Apollyon.*

But he considered again, that he had no Armor for his back, and therefore thought that to turn the back to him might give him greater advantage with ease to pierce him with his Darts; therefore he resolved to venture, and stand his ground. For thought he, had I no more in mine eye than the saving of my life, 'twould be the best way to stand.

So he went on, and *Apollyon* met him. Now the Monster was hideous to behold, he was cloathed with scales like a Fish (and they are his pride) he had Wings like a Dragon, feet like a Bear, and out of his belly came Fire and Smoke, and his mouth was as the mouth of a Lion. When he was come up to *Christian*, he beheld him with a disdainful countenance, and thus began to question with him.

APOL. *Whence come you, and whither are you bound?*

*Discourse
betwixt
Christian
and Apol-
lyon.*

CHR. I am come from the City of *Destruction*, which is the place of all evil, and am going to the City of *Zion*.

APOL. *By this I perceive thou art one of my Subjects, for all that Country is mine; and I am the Prince and God of it. How is it then that thou hast ran away from thy King? Were it not that I hope thou mayest do me more service, I would strike thee now at one blow to the ground.*

Rom. 6. 23.

CHR. I was born indeed in your Dominions, but your service was hard, and your wages such as a man could not live on, *for the wages of Sin is death*; therefore when I was come to years, I did as other considerate persons do, look out if perhaps I might mend my self.

*Apollyons
flattery.*

APOL. *There is no Prince that will thus lightly lose his Subjects, neither will I as yet lose thee. But since thou complainest of thy service and wages be content to go back; what our Country will afford, I do here promise to give thee.*

30

CHR. But I have let myself to another, even to the King of Princes, and how can I with fairness go back with thee?

*Apollyon
undervalues
Christ's
service.*

APOL. *Thou hast done in this, according to the Proverb, changed a bad for a worse: but it is ordinary for those that have professed themselves his Servants, after a while to give him the slip, and return again to me: do thou so to, and all shall be well.*

CHR. I have given him my faith, and sworn my Allegiance

to him; how then can I go back from this, and not be hanged as a Traitor?

APOL. *Thou didst the same to me, and yet I am willing to pass by all, if now thou wilt yet turn again, and go back.* Apollyon pretends to be merciful.

CHR. What I promised thee was in my nonage; and besides, I count that the Prince under whose Banner now I stand, is able to absolve me; yea, and to pardon also what I did as to my compliance with thee: and besides, (O thou destroying Apollyon) to speak truth, I like his Service, his
10 Wages, his Servants, his Government, his Company, and Country better than thine: and therefore leave off to perswade me further, I am his Servant, and I will follow him.

APOL. *Consider again when thou art in cool blood, what thou art like to meet with in the way that thou goest. Thou knowest that for the most part, his Servants come to an ill end, because they are transgressors against me, and my ways. How many of them have been put to shameful deaths! and besides, thou countest his service better than mine, whereas he never came yet from the place where he is, to deliver any that served him out of our hands;* Apollyon pleads the grievous ends of Christians to dissuade Christian from persisting in his way.
20 *but as for me, how many times, as all the World very well knows, have I delivered, either by power or fraud, those that have faithfully served me, from him and his, though taken by them, and so I will deliver thee.*

CHR. His forbearing at present to deliver them, is on purpose to try their love, whether they will cleave to him to the end: and as for the ill end thou sayest they come to, that is most glorious in their account. For for present deliverance, they do not much expect it; for they stay for their Glory, and then they shall have it, when their Prince
30 comes in his, and the Glory of the Angels.

APOL. *Thou hast already been unfaithful in thy service to him, and how dost thou think to receive wages of him?*

CHR. Wherein, O Apollyon, have I been unfaithful to him?

APOL. *Thou didst faint at first setting out, when thou wast almost choked in the Gulf of Dispond; thou didst attempt wrong ways to be rid of thy burden, whereas thou shouldest have stayed till thy Prince had taken it off: thou didst sinfully sleep and lose thy choice thing: thou wast also almost perswaded to go back, at* Apollyon pleads Christian's infirmities against him.

the sight of the Lions; and when thou talkest of thy Journey, and of what thou hast heard, and seen, thou art inwardly desirous of vain-glory in all that thou sayest or doest.

CHR. All this is true, and much more, which thou hast left out; but the Prince whom I serve and honour, is merciful, and ready to forgive: but besides, these infirmities possessed me in thy Country, for there I suckt them in, and I have groaned under them, been sorry for them, and have obtained pardon of my Prince.

Apollyon *in a rage falls upon Christian* APOL. Then *Apollyon* broke out into a grievous rage, ¹⁰ saying, *I am an Enemy to this Prince: I hate his Person, his Laws, and People: I am come out on purpose to withstand thee.*

CHR. *Apollyon* beware what you do, for I am in the King's Highway, the way of Holiness, therefore take heed to your self.

APOL. Then *Apollyon* straddled quite over the whole breadth of the way, and said, I am void of fear in this matter, prepare thy self to die, for I swear by my Infernal Den, that thou shalt go no further, here will I spill thy soul; and with that, he threw a flaming Dart at his breast, but *Christian* had a ²⁰ Shield in his hand, with which he caught it, and so prevented the danger of that. Then did *Christian* draw, for he saw 'twas time to bestir him; and *Apollyon* as fast made at him, throwing Darts as thick as Hail; by the which, notwithstanding all that *Christian* could do to avoid it, *Apollyon* wounded him in his head, his hand and foot; this made *Christian* give a little back: *Apollyon* therefore followed his work amain, and *Christian* again took courage, and resisted as manfully as he could. This sore combat lasted for above half a day, even till *Christian* was almost quite spent. For you must know ³⁰ that *Christian* by reason of his wounds, must needs grow weaker and weaker.

Christian wounded in his understanding, faith and conversation.

Apollyon casteth down to the ground Christian.

Then *Apollyon* espying his opportunity, began to gather up close to *Christian*, and wrestling with him, gave him a dreadful fall; and with that, *Christian's* Sword flew out of his hand. Then said *Apollyon*, *I am sure of thee now*; and with that, he had almost prest him to death, so that *Christian* began to despair of life. But as God would have it, while *Apollyon* was

fetching of his last blow, thereby to make a full end of this good Man, *Christian* nimbly reached out his hand for his Sword, and caught it, saying, *Rejoice not against me, O mine Enemy! when I fall, I shall arise*; and with that, gave him a deadly thrust, which made him give back, as one that had received his mortal wound: *Christian* perceiving that, made at him again, saying, *Nay, in all these things we are more than Conquerors, through him that loved us*. And with that, *Apollyon* spread forth his Dragon's wings, and sped him away, that *Christian* saw him no more¹.

In this Combat no man can imagine, unless he had seen and heard as I did, what yelling, and hideous roaring *Apollyon* made all the time of the fight, he spake like a Dragon: and on the other side, what sighs and groans brast from *Christian's* heart. I never saw him all the while give so much as one pleasant look, till he perceived he had wounded *Apollyon* with his two edged Sword, then indeed he did smile, and look upward: but 'twas the dreadfulest sight that ever I saw.

So when the Battle was over, *Christian* said, I will here give thanks to him that hath delivered me out of the mouth of the Lion; to him that did help me against *Apollyon*: and so he did, saying,

Great Beelzebub, the Captain of this Fiend,
Design'd my ruin; therefore to this end
He sent him harness out, and he with rage
That Hellish was, did fiercely me engage:
But blessed Michael helped me, and I
By dint of Sward, did quickly make him fly:
Therefore to him let me give lasting praise,
And thank and bless his holy name always.

Then there came to him an hand, with some of the leaves of the Tree of Life, the which *Christian* took, and applied to the wounds that he had received in the Battle, and was healed immediately. He also sat down in that place to eat Bread,

¹ A more unequal match can hardly be, *Christian* must fight an Angel; but you see, The valiant man by handling Sword and Shield, Doth make him, tho' a Dragon, quit the Field.

Christian
goes on his
Journey
with his
Sword
drawn in
his hand.
The Valley
of the
shadow of
Death.

Jer. 2. 6.

and to drink of the Bottle that was given him a little before; so being refreshed, he addressed himself to his Journey, with his Sword drawn in his hand, for he said, I know not but some other Enemy may be at hand. But he met with no other affront from *Apollyon*, quite through this Valley.

Now at the end of this Valley, was another, called the Valley of the *Shadow of Death*, and *Christian* must needs go through it, because the way to the Cœlestial City lay through the midst of it. Now this Valley is a very solitary place. The Prophet *Jeremiab* thus describes it, *A Wilderness; a Land of Deserts, and of Pits, a Land of Drought, and of the shadow of death, a Land that no man (but a Christian) passeth through, and where no man dwelt.*

Now here *Christian* was worse put to it than in his fight with *Apollyon*, as by the sequel you shall see.

The Chil-
dren of the
Spies go
back.
Numb. 13. 38.

I saw then in my Dream, that when *Christian* was got to the Borders of the Shadow of Death, there met him two Men, Children of them that brought up an evil report of the good Land, making haste to go back: to whom *Christian* spake as follows,

20

CHR. *Whither are you going?*

MEN. They said, Back, back; and we would have you to do so too, if either life or peace is prized by you.

CHR. *Why? what's the matter?* said *Christian*.

MEN. Matter! said they; we were going that way as you are going, and went as far as we durst; and indeed we were almost past coming back, for had we gone a little further, we had not been here to bring the news to thee.

CHR. *But what have you met with,* said *Christian?*

Ps. 44. 19.
Ps. 107. 10.

MEN. Why we were almost in the Valley of the Shadow of Death, but that by good hap we looked before us, and saw the danger before we came to it.

CHR. *But what have you seen,* said *Christian?*

MEN. Seen! why the Valley itself, which is as dark as pitch; we also saw there the Hobgoblins, Satyrs, and Dragons of the Pit: we heard also in that Valley a continual howling and yelling, as of a People under unutterable misery, who there sat bound in affliction and Irons; and over that Valley

hangs the discouraging Clouds of confusion; death also doth Job 3. 5.
 always spread his wings over it: in a word, it is every whit Ch. 10. 22.
 dreadful, being utterly without Order.

CHR. *Then said Christian, I perceive not yet, by what you have said, but that this is my way to the desired Haven.* Jer. 2. 6.

MEN. Be it thy way, we will not chuse it for ours. So they parted, and *Christian* went on his way, but still with his Sword drawn in his hand, for fear lest he should be assaulted.

I saw then in my Dream, so far as this Valley reached, Ps. 69. 2.
 10 there was on the right hand a very deep Ditch; that Ditch is it into which the blind have led the blind in all Ages, and have both there miserably perished. Again, behold on the left hand, there was a very dangerous Quag, into which, if even a good man falls, he can find no bottom for his foot to stand on. Into that Quag *King David once did fall*, and had no doubt therein been smothered, had not He that is able, pluckt him out.

The path-way was here also exceeding narrow, and therefore good *Christian* was the more put to it; for when he 20 sought in the dark to shun the ditch on the one hand, he was ready to tip over into the mire on the other; also when he sought to escape the mire, without great carefulness he would be ready to fall into the ditch. Thus he went on, and I heard him here sigh bitterly: for besides the dangers mentioned above, the pathway was here so dark, that oftentimes when he lift up his foot to set forward, he knew not where, or upon what he should set it next.

About the midst of this Valley, I perceived the mouth of Hell to be, and it stood also hard by the wayside¹: Now 30 thought *Christian*, what shall I do? And ever and anon the flame and smoke would come out in such abundance, with sparks and hideous noises, (things that cared not for *Christians* Sword, as did *Apollyon* before) that he was forced to put up his Sword, and betake himself to another weapon called *All-Prayer*, Eph. 6. 12. so he cried in my hearing, *O Lord I beseech thee deliver* Ps. 116. 4.

¹ Poor man! where art thou now? thy day is night.
 Good man be not cast down, thou yet art right.
 Thy way to Heaven lies by the gates of Hell;
 Cheer up, hold out, with thee it shall go well.

Christian
out to a
stand, but
for a while.

my Soul. Thus he went on a great while, yet still the flames would be reaching towards him: also he heard doleful voices, and rushings to and fro, so that sometimes he thought he should be torn in pieces, or trodden down like mire in the Streets. This frightful sight was seen, and these dreadful noises were heard by him for several miles together: and coming to a place, where he thought he heard a company of *Fiends* coming forward to meet him, he stopt, and began to muse what he had best to do. Sometimes he had half a thought to go back. Then again he thought he might be half 10 way through the Valley; he remembred also how he had already vanquished many a danger: and that the danger of going back might be much more than for to go forward; so he resolved to go on. Yet the *Fiends* seemed to come nearer and nearer; but when they were come even almost at him, he cried out with a most vehement voice, *I will walk in the strength of the Lord God*; so they gave back, and came no further.

Christian
made be-
lieve that he
spoke blas-
phemies,
when twas
Satan that
suggested
them into
his mind.

One thing I would not let slip, I took notice that now poor *Christian* was so confounded, that he did not know his own 20 voice; and thus I perceived it. Just when he was come over against the mouth of the burning Pit, one of the wicked ones got behind him, and stept up softly to him, and whisperingly suggested many grievous blasphemies to him, which he verily thought had proceeded from his own mind. This put *Christian* more to it than any thing that he met with before, even to think that he should now blaspheme him that he loved so much before; yet could he have helped it, he would not have done it: but he had not the discretion neither to stop his ears, nor to know from whence those blasphemies came. 30

Ps. 138. 4.

When *Christian* had travelled in this disconsolate condition some considerable time, he thought he heard the voice of a man, as going before him, saying, *Though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear none ill, for thou art with me.*

Then was he glad, and that for these reasons:

First, Because he gathered from thence that some who feared God were in this Valley as well as himself.

Secondly, For that he perceived God was with them, Job 9. 10. though in that dark and dismal state; and why not, thought he, with me? though by reason of the impediment that attends this place, I cannot perceive it.

Thirdly, For that he hoped (could he overtake them) to have company by and by. So he went on, and called to him that was before, but he knew not what to answer, for that he also thought himself to be alone. And by and by, the day broke: then said *Christian*, *He hath turned the shadow of death* Christian glad at break of day. Amos 5. 8.
 10 *into the morning.*

Now morning being come, he looked back, not of desire to return, but to see, by the light of the day, what hazards he had gone through in the dark. So he saw more perfectly the Ditch that was on the one hand, and the Quag that was on the other; also how narrow the way was which lay betwixt them both; also now he saw the Hobgoblins, and Satyrs, and Dragons of the Pit, but all afar of; for after break of day, they came not nigh; yet they were discovered to him, according to that which is written, *He discovereth deep things* Job 12. 22.
 20 *out of darkness, and bringeth out to light the shadow of death.*

Now was *Christian* much affected with his deliverance from all the dangers of his solitary way, which dangers, though he feared them more before, yet he saw them more clearly now, because the light of the day made them conspicuous to him. And about this time the Sun was rising, and this was another mercy to *Christian*: for you must note, that though the first part of the Valley of the Shadow of death was dangerous, yet this second part which he was yet to go, was, if possible, far
 30 *more dangerous*: for from the place where he now stood, The second part of this Valley very dangerous. even to the end of the Valley, the way was all along set so full of Snares, Traps, Gins, and Nets here, and so full of Pits, Pitfalls, deep Holes and Shelvings down there, that had it now been dark, as it was when he came the first part of the way, had he had a thousand souls, they had in reason been cast away; but as I said, just now the Sun was rising. Then said he, *His candle shineth on my head, and by his light I go through* Job 29. 3.
darkness.

In this light therefore he came to the end of the Valley. Now I saw in my Dream, that at the end of this Valley lay blood, bones, ashes, and mangled bodies of men, even of Pilgrims that had gone this way formerly: And while I was musing what should be the reason, I espied a little before me a Cave, where two Giants, *Pope* and *Pagan*, dwelt in old time, by whose Power and Tyranny the Men whose bones, blood, ashes, &c. lay there, were cruelly put to death. But by this place *Christian* went without much danger, whercat I somewhat wondered; but I have learnt since, that *Pagan* has been 10 dead many a day; and as for the other, though he be yet alive, he is by reason of age, and also of the many shrewd brushes that he met with in his younger days, grown so crazy, and stiff in his joints, that he can now do little more than sit in his Cave's mouth, grinning at Pilgrims as they go by, and biting his nails, because he cannot come at them.

So I saw that *Christian* went on his way, yet at the sight of the *old Man*, that sat in the mouth of the *Cave*, he could not tell what to think, specially because he spake to him, though he could not go after him; saying, *You will never mend, till 20 more of you be burned*: but he held his peace, and set a good face on't, and so went by, and catcht no hurt. Then sang *Christian*,

*O world of wonders! (I can say no less)
That I should be preserv'd in that distress
That I have met with here! O blessed be
That hand that from it hath delivered me!
Dangers in darkness, Devils, Hell, and Sin,
Did compass me, while I this Vale was in:
Yea, Snares, and Pits, and Traps, and Nets did lie 30
My path about, that worthless silly I
Might have been catch't, intangled, and cast down:
But since I live, let JESUS wear the Crown.*

Now as *Christian* went on his way, he came to a little ascent, which was cast up on purpose that Pilgrims might see before them: up there therefore *Christian* went, and looking forward he saw *Faithful* before him, upon his Journey. Then

said *Christian* aloud, Ho, ho, So-ho; stay and I will be your Companion. At that *Faithful* looked behind him, to whom *Christian* cried again, Stay, stay, till I come up to you. But *Faithful* answered, No, I am upon my life, and the Avenger of Blood is behind me. At this *Christian* was somewhat moved, and putting to all his strength, he quickly got up with *Faithful*, and did also overrun him, so the *last was first*. Christian overtakes Faithful. Then did *Christian* vain-gloriously smile, because he had gotten the start of his Brother: but not taking good heed to
 10 his feet, he suddenly stumbled and fell, and could not rise again, until *Faithful* came up to help him.

Then I saw in my Dream, they went very lovingly on together; and had sweet discourse of all things that had happened to them in their Pilgrimage; and thus *Christian* Christian's fall makes Faithful

CHR. *My honoured and well beloved Brother Faithful, I am* and he goes lovingly together.
glad that I have overtaken you; and that God has so tempered
our spirits, that we can walk as Companions in this so pleasant
a path.

20 FAITH. I had thought dear friend, to have had your company quite from our Town, but you did get the start of me; wherefore I was forced to come thus much of the way alone.

CHR. *How long did you stay in the City of Destruction, before you set out after me on your Pilgrimage?*

FAITH. Till I could stay no longer; for there was great talk presently after you was gone out, that our City would in short time with Fire from Heaven be burned down to the Their talk about the Country from whence they came.
ground.

30 CHR. *What! Did your Neighbors talk so?*

FAITH. Yes, 'twas for a while in every body's mouth.

CHR. *What, and did no more of them but you come out to escape the danger?*

FAITH. Though there was, as I said, a great talk thereabout, yet I do not think they did firmly believe it. For in the heat of the discourse, I heard some of them deridingly speak of you, and of your desperate Journey, (for so they called this your Pilgrimage) but I did believe, and do still, that the end

of our City will be with Fire and Brimstone from above: and therefore I have made mine escape.

CHR. *Did you hear no talk of Neighbor Pliable?*

FAITH. Yes *Christian*, I heard that he followed you till he came at the Slough of *Dispond*, where, as some said, he fell in; but he would not be known to have so done: but I am sure he was soundly bedabbled with that kind of dirt.

CHR. *And what said the Neighbors to him?*

How Pliable was accounted of when he got home.

FAITH. He hath, since his going back, been had greatly in derision, and that among all sorts of People: some do mock and despise him, and scarce will any set him on work. He is now seven times worse than if he had never gone out of the City.

CHR. *But why should they be so set against him, since they also despise the way that he forsook?*

Jer. 29. 18, 19.

FAITH. O, they say, Hang him, he is a Turn-Coat, he was not true to his profession. I think God has stirred up even his Enemies to hiss at him, and make him a Proverb, because he hath forsaken the way.

20

CHR. *Had you no talk with him before you came out?*

FAITH. I met him once in the Streets, but he leered away on the other side, as one ashamed of what he had done; so I spake not to him.

CHR. *Well, at my first setting out, I had hopes of that Man; but now I fear he will perish in the overthrow of the City, for it is happened to him, according to the true Proverb, The Dog is turned to his Vomit again, and the Sow that was washed to her swallowing in the mire.*

9 Pet. 2. 22. The Dog and the Sow.

FAITH. They are my fears of him too. But who can hinder that which will be?

CHR. Well Neighbor *Faithful*, said *Christian*, let us leave him; and talk of things that more immediately concern ourselves. Tell me now, what you have met with in the way as you came; for I know you have met with some things, or else it may be writ for a wonder.

FAITH. I escaped the Slough that I perceive you fell into, and got up to the Gate without that danger; only I met with

one whose name was *Wanton*, that had like to have done me a mischief. Faithful
assaulted by
Wanton.

CHR. *'Twas well you escaped her Net; Joseph was hard put to it by her, and he escaped her as you did, but it had like to have cost him his life. But what did she do to you?* Gen. 39. 11,
12, 13

FAITH. You cannot think (but that you know something) what a flattering tongue she had, she lay at me hard to turn aside with her, promising me all manner of content.

CHR. *Nay, she did not promise you the content of a good* 10
conscience.

FAITH. You know what I mean, all carnal and fleshly content.

CHR. *Thank God you have escaped her: The abhorred of the* Prov. 22. 14.
Lord shall fall into her Ditch.

FAITH. Nay, I know not whether I did wholly escape her, or no.

CHR. *Why, I tro you did not consent to her desires?*

FAITH. No, not to defile myself; for I remembered an old writing that I had seen, which saith, *Her steps take hold of bell.* Prov. 5. 5.
20 So I shut mine eyes, because I would not be bewitched with her looks: then she railed on me, and I went my way. Job 31. 1.

CHR. *Did you meet with no other assault as you came?*

FAITH. When I came to the foot of the Hill called *Difficulty*, I met with a very aged Man, who asked me, *What I was, and whither bound?* I told him, That I was a Pilgrim, going to the *Cœlestial City*. Then said the Old Man, *Thou* Adam the
1st.
lookest like an honest fellow; Wilt thou be content to dwell with me, for the wages that I shall give thee? Then I asked him his name, and where he dwelt? He said his name was *Adam*
30 *the first, and I dwell in the Town of Deceit.* I asked him then, Eph. 4. 22.
What was his work? and what the wages that he would give? He told me, That his work was *many delights; and his wages, that I should be his Heir at last.* I further asked him, What House he kept, and what other Servants he had? So he told me, *That his House was maintained with all the dainties in the world, and that his Servants were those of his own begetting.* Then I asked, if he had any children? He said that he had but three Daughters, *The lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes,* 1 John 2. 16.

and the pride of life; and that I should marry them all, if I would. Then I asked, how long time he would have me live with him? And he told me As long as he lived himself.

CHR. *Well, and what conclusion came the Old Man and you to, at last?*

FAITH. Why, at first, I found myself somewhat inclinable to go with the Man, for I thought he spake very fair; But looking in his forehead as I talked with him, I saw there written, *Put off the old Man with his deeds.*

CHR. *And how then?*

10

FAITH. Then it came burning hot into my mind, whatever he said, and however he flattered, when he got me home to his House, he would sell me for a Slave. So I bid him forbear to talk, for I would not come near the door of his House. Then he reviled me, and told me that he would send such a one after me, that should make my way bitter to my Soul. So I turned to go away from him: but just as I turned myself to go thence, I felt him take hold of my flesh, and give me such a deadly twitch back, that I thought he had pull'd part of me after himself. This made me cry, *O wretched Man!* So I went on my way up the Hill.

Rom. 7. 24.

20

Now when I had got about half way up, I looked behind me, and saw one coming after me, swift as the wind; so he overtook me just about the place where the Settle stands.

CHR. *Just there, said Christian, did I sit down to rest me; but, being overcome with sleep, I there lost this Roll out of my bosom.*

FAITH. But good Brother hear me out: So soon as the Man overtook me, he was but a word and a blow: for down he knockt me, and laid me for dead. But when I was a little come to myself again, I asked him wherefore he served me so? he said, Because of my secret inclining to *Adam the first*; and with that, he strook me another deadly blow on the breast, and beat me down backward, so I lay at his foot as dead as before. So when I came to myself again, I cried him mercy; but he said, I know not how to show mercy, and with that knockt me down again. He had doubtless made an end of me, but that one came by, and bid him forbear.

CHR. *Who was that, that bid him forbear?*

FAITH. I did not know him at first, but as he went by, I perceived the holes in his hands, and his side; then I concluded that he was our Lord. So I went up the Hill.

CHR. *That Man that overtook you, was Moses. He spareth* The temper of Moses.
none, neither knoweth he how to shew mercy to those that
transgress his Law.

FAITH. I know it very well, it was not the first time that he has met with me. 'Twas he that came to me when I
10 dwelt securely at home, and that told me, He would burn my House over my head if I staid there.

CHR. *But did not you see the House that stood there on the top of that Hill, on the side of which Moses met you?*

FAITH. Yes, and the Lions too, before I came at it; but for the Lions, I think they were asleep, for it was about Noon; and because I had so much of the day before me, I passed by the Porter, and came down the Hill.

CHR. *He told me indeed that he saw you go by; but I wish you had called at the House; for they would have shewed you so many*
20 *Rarities, that you would scarce have forgot them to the day of your death. But pray tell me, Did you meet nobody in the Valley of Humility?*

FAITH. Yes, I met with one *Discontent*, who would willingly have perswaded me to go back again with him: his reason was, for that the Valley was altogether without *Honour*. He told me moreover, that there to go was the way to disobey all my Friends, as *Pride, Arrogancy, Self-Conceit, Worldly Glory*, with others, who he knew, as he said, would be very much offended, if I made such a Fool of myself as to wade through
30 this Valley.

CHR. *Well, and how did you answer him?*

FAITH. I told him, That although all these that he named might claim kindred of me, and that rightly, (for indeed they
were my Relations, *according to the flesh*) yet since I became a Pilgrim, they have disowned me, as I also have rejected them; and therefore they were to me now no more than if they had never been of my Lineage. I told him moreover, that as to this Valley, he had quite mis-represented the

Faithful as-
saulted by
Discontent.

Faithful
answer to
Discontent.

Prov. 15. 33.
ch. 16. 18.

thing: *for before Honour is Humility, and a baughty spirit before a fall.* Therefore said I, I had rather go through this Valley to the Honour that was so accounted by the wisest, than chuse that which he esteemed most worth our affections.

CHR. *Met you with nothing else in that Valley?*

He is as-
saulted with
Shame.

FAITH. Yes, I met with *Shame*. But of all the Men that I met with in my Pilgrimage, he I think bears the wrong name: the other would be said nay, after a little argumentation, (and somewhat else) but this boldfaced *Shame*, would never have done.

10

CHR. *Why, what did he say to you?*

1 Cor. 1. 26.
ch. 3. 18.
Phil. 3. 7, 8.

FAITH. What! why he objected against Religion itself; he said it was a pitiful low sneaking business for a Man to mind Religion; he said that a tender conscience was an unmanly thing, and that for a Man to watch over his words and ways, so as to tye up himself from that hectoring liberty that the brave spirits of the times accustom themselves unto, would make me the Ridicule of the times. He objected also, that but few of the Mighty, Rich, or Wise, were ever of my opinion; nor any of them, neither, before they were 20 perswaded to be Fools, and to be of a voluntary fondness to venture the loss of all, *for no body else knows what.* He moreover objected the base and low estate and condition of those that were chiefly the Pilgrims of the times in which they lived: also their ignorance, and want of understanding in all natural Science. Yea, he did hold me to it at that rate also about a great many more things than here I relate; as, that it was a *shame* to sit whining and mourning under a Sermon, and a *shame* to come sighing and groaning home. That it was a shame to ask my Neighbor forgiveness for petty 30 faults, or to make restitution where I had taken from any. He said also that Religion made a man grow strange to the great, because of a few vices (which he called by finer names) and made him own and respect the base, because of the same Religious Fraternity. And is not this, said he, a shame?

John 7. 48.

CHR. *And what did you say to him?*

FAITH. Say! I could not tell what to say at the first. Yea, he put me so to it, that my blood came up in my face,

even this *Shame* fetch'd it up, and had almost beat me quite off. But at last I began to consider, *That that which is highly* Luke 16. 15
esteemed among Men, is had in abomination with God. And I thought again, This *Shame* tells me what men are, but it tells me nothing what *God*, or the *Word* of *God* is. And I thought moreover, that at the day of doom, we shall not be doomed to death or life, according to the hectoring spirits of the world; but according to the Wisdom and Law of the Highest. Therefore thought I, what *God* says is best, is
 10 best, though all the Men in the world are against it. Seeing then, that *God* prefers his Religion, seeing *God* prefers a tender Conscience, seeing they that make themselves Fools for the Kingdom of Heaven are wisest; and that the poor man that loveth *Christ* is richer than the greatest Man in the world that hates him; *Shame* depart, thou art an Enemy to my Salvation: shall I entertain thee against my Sovereign Lord? How then shall I look him in the face at his coming? Should I now be *ashamed* of his Ways and Servants, how can
 I expect the blessing? But indeed this *Shame* was a bold
 20 Villain; I could scarce shake him out of my company; yea, he would be haunting of me, and continually whispering me in the ear, with some one or other of the infirmities that attend Religion: but at last I told him, 'Twas but in vain to attempt further in this business; for those things that he disdained, in those did I see most glory. And so at last I got past this importunate one. And when I had shaken him off then I began to sing

The trials that those men do meet withal,
 That are obedient to the Heavenly call,
 30 Are manifold, and suited to the flesh,
 And come, and come, and come again afresh;
 That now, or sometime else, we by them may
 Be taken, overcome, and cast away.
 O let the Pilgrims, let the Pilgrims then,
 Be vigilant, and quit themselves like men.

CHR. I am glad, my Brother, that thou didst withstand this Villain so bravely; for of all, as thou sayst, I think he has the

wrong name: for he is so bold as to follow us in the Streets, and to attempt to put us to shame before all men; that is, to make us ashamed of that which is good: but if he was not himself audacious, he would never attempt to do as he does, but let us still resist him: for notwithstanding all his Bravadoes, he promoteth the Fool, and none else. The Wise shall Inherit Glory said Solomon, but shame shall be the promotion of Fools.

Prov. 1. 35.

FAITH. I think we must cry to him for help against shame, that would have us be valiant for Truth upon the Earth.

CHR. *You say true. But did you meet nobody else in that 10 Valley?*

FAITH. No, not I, for I had Sunshine all the rest of the way, through that, and also through the Valley of the Shadow of Death.

CHR. *'Twas well for you, I am sure it fared far otherwise with me. I had for a long season, as soon almost as I entred into that Valley, a dreadful Combat with that foul Fiend Apollyon: yea, I thought verily he would have killed me; especially when he got me down, and crusht me under him, as if he would have crusht me to pieces. For as he threw 20 me, my Sword flew out of my hand; nay he told me He was sure of me: but I cried to God, and he heard me, and delivered me out of all my troubles. Then I entred into the Valley of the Shadow of Death, and had no light for almost half the way through it. I thought I should have been killed there, over, and over. But at last day brake, and the Sun rose, and I went through that which was behind with far more ease and quiet.*

Talkative described.

Moreover, I saw in my Dream, that as they went on, Faithful, as he chanced to look on one side, saw a Man whose 30 name is Talkative, walking at a distance besides them, (for in this place, there was room enough for them all to walk). *He was a tall Man, and something more comely at a distance than at hand. To this Man Faithful addressed himself in this inanner.*

FAITH. *Friend, Whither away? Are you going to the Heavenly Country?*

TALK. I am going to that same place.

FAITH. *That is well; then I hope we may have your good Company.*

TALK. With a very good will will I be your Companion.

FAITH. *Come on then, and let us go together, and let us spend our time in discoursing of things that are profitable.*

*Faithful and
Talkative
enter dis-
course.*

TALK. To talk of things that are good, to me is very acceptable, with you, or with any other; and I am glad that I have met with those that incline to so good a work. For to speak the truth, there are but few that care thus to spend
10 their time (as they are in their travels), but chuse much rather to be speaking of things to no profit, and this hath been a trouble to me.

*Talkative's
dislike of
bad dis-
course.*

FAITH. *That is indeed a thing to be lamented; for what things so worthy of the use of the tongue and mouth of men on Earth, as are the things of the God of Heaven?*

TALK. I like you wonderful well, for your saying is full of conviction; and I will add, What thing so pleasant, and what so profitable, as to talk of the things of God?

What things so pleasant? (that is, if a man hath any
20 delight in things that are wonderful) for instance, if a man doth delight to talk of the History or Mystery of things, or if a man doth love to talk of Miracles, Wonders, or Signs, where shall he find things recorded so delightful, and so sweetly penned, as in the holy Scripture?

FAITH. *That's true: but to be profited by such things in our talk should be that which we design.*

TALK. That is it that I said: for to *talk* of such things is most profitable, for by so doing, a Man may get knowledge of many things, as of the vanity of earthly things, and the
30 benefit of things above: (thus in general) but more particularly, by this a man may learn the necessity of the New-birth, the insufficiency of our works, the need of Christs righteousness, etc. Besides, by this a man may learn by *talk*, what it is to repent, to believe, to pray, to suffer, or the like: by this also a Man may learn what are the great promises and consolations of the Gospel, to his own comfort. Further, by this a Man may learn to refute false opinions, to vindicate the truth, and also to instruct the ignorant.

*Talkative's
fine Dis-
course.*

FAITH. *All this is true, and glad am I to hear these things from you.*

TALK. Alas! the want of this is the cause that so few understand the need of Faith, and the necessity of a work of Grace in their Soul, in order to eternal life; but ignorantly live in the works of the Law, by which a man can by no means obtain the Kingdom of Heaven.

FAITH. *But by your leave, Heavenly knowledge of these, is the gift of God; no man attaineth to them by human industry, or only by the talk of them.*

10

*O brave
Talkative.*

TALK. All this I know very well, for a man can receive nothing except it be given him from Heaven; all is of Grace, not of works: I could give you an hundred Scriptures for the confirmation of this.

FAITH. *Well, then, said Faithful, what is that one thing, that we shall at this time found our discourse upon?*

*O brave
Talkative.*

TALK. What you will: I will talk of things Heavenly, or things Earthly; things Moral, or things Evangelical; things Sacred, or things Prophane; things past, or things to come; things foreign, or things at home; things more Essential, or things Circumstantial; provided that all be done to our profit.

*Faithful
beguiled by
Talkative.*

FAITH. Now did *Faithful* begin to wonder; and stepping to Christian, (for he walked all this while by himself,) he said to him, (but softly) *What a Brave Companion have we got! Surely this man will make a very excellent Pilgrim.*

*Christian
makes a dis-
covery of
Talkative,
telling
Faithful who
he was.*

CHR. At this *Christian* modestly smiled, and said, This man with whom you are so taken, will beguile with this tongue of his, twenty of them that know him not.

FAITH. *Do you know him then?*

30

CHR. Know him! Yes, better than he knows himself.

FAITH. *Pray what is he?*

CHR. His name is *Talkative*, he dwelleth in our Town; I wonder that you should be a stranger to him, only I consider that our Town is large.

FAITH. *Whose son is he? And whereabout doth he dwell?*

CHR. He is the son of one *Saywell*, he dwelt in *Prating-row*; and he is known of all that are acquainted with him, by

the name of *Talkative* in *Prating-row*: and notwithstanding his fine tongue, he is but a sorry fellow.

FAITH. *Well, he seems to be a very pretty man.*

CHR. That is, to them that have not thorough acquaintance with him, for he is best abroad, near home he is ugly enough: your saying, That he is a *pretty man*, brings to my mind what I have observed in the work of the Painter, whose Pictures shew best at a distance; but very near, more displeasing.

FAITH. *But I am ready to think you do but jest, because you*
10 *smiled.*

CHR. God forbid that I should *jest*, (though I smiled) in this matter, or that I should accuse any falsely; I will give you a further discovery of him: This man is for any company, and for any *talk*; as he *talketh now* with you, so will he *talk* when he is on the *Ale-bench*: and the more drink he hath in his crown, the more of these things he hath in his mouth. Religion hath no place in his heart, or house, or conversation; all he hath, lieth in his *tongue*, and his Religion is to make a noise *therewith*.

20 FAITH. *Say you so! Than am I in this man greatly deceived.*

CHR. Deceived! you may be sure of it. Remember the Proverb, *They say and do not; but the Kingdom of God is not in* Matth. 23. 3.
word, but in power. He *talketh* of Prayer, of Repentance, of 1 Cor. 4. 20.
Faith, and of the New Birth: but he knows but only to *talk* Talkative talks, but does not.
of them. I have been in his Family, and have observed him both at home and abroad; and I know what I say of him is the truth. His house is as empty of Religion, as the white of His house is empty of Religion.
an Egg is of savour. There is there neither Prayer, nor sign of Repentance for sin: yea, the brute in his kind serves God

30 far better than he. He is the very stain, reproach, and shame He is a stain to Religion.
of Religion to all that know him; it can hardly have a good Rom. 2. 24.
word in all that end of the Town where he dwells, through
him. Thus say the common People that know him, *A Saint* The Proverb that goes of him.
abroad, and a Devil at home. His poor Family finds it so, he is such a *churl*, such a railer at, and so unreasonable with his Servants, that they neither know how to do for, or speak to him. Men that have any dealings with him, say 'tis better Men shun to deal with him.
to deal with a Turk then with him, for fairer dealing they

shall have at their hands. This *Talkative*, if it be possible, will go beyond them, defraud, beguile, and over-reach them. Besides, he brings up his Sons to follow his steps; and if he findeth in any of them a *foolish timorousness* (for so he calls the first appearance of a tender conscience) he calls them fools and blockheads; and by no means will employ them in much, or speak to their commendations before others. For my part I am of opinion, that he has by his wicked life caused many to stumble and fall; and will be, if God prevent not, the ruin of many more.

10

FAITH. *Well, my Brother, I am bound to believe you; not only because you say you know him, but also because like a Christian, you make your reports of men. For I cannot think that you speak these things of ill will, but because it is even so as you say.*

CHR. Had I known him no more than you, I might perhaps have thought of him as at the first you did. Yea, had he received this report at *their* hands only that are enemies to Religion, I should have thought it had been a slander: (a Lot that often falls from bad mens mouths upon good mens Names and Professions:) But all these things, yea and a great many 20 more as bad, of my own knowledge I can prove him guilty of. Besides, good men are ashamed of him, they can neither call him *Brother* nor *Friend*; the very naming of him among them, makes them blush, if they know him.

FAITH. *Well, I see that Saying and Doing are two things, and hereafter I shall better observe this distinction.*

*The Carcass
of Religion.*

James 1. 27.
see ver. 22,
23, 24, 25, 26

CHR. They are *two* things indeed, and are as diverse as are the Soul and the Body: for as the Body without the Soul, is but a dead Carcass; so, *Saying*, if it be alone, is but a dead Carcass also. The Soul of Religion is the practick part: 30
Pure Religion and undefiled, before God and the Father, is this, To visit the Fatherless and Widows in their affliction, and to keep himself unspotted from the World. This *Talkative* is not aware of, he thinks that *bearing* and *saying* will make a good Christian, and thus he deceiveth his own Soul. Hearing is but as the sowing of the Seed; talking is not sufficient to prove that fruit is indeed in the heart and life; and let us assure ourselves, that at the day of Doom men shall be judged according

See Matt. 23-
18-23, and
ch. 25. 14-46.

to their fruits. It will not be said then, *Did you believe?* but, were you *Doers*, or *Talkers* only? and accordingly shall they be judged. The end of the World is compared to our Harvest, and you know men at Harvest regard nothing but Fruit. Not that, any thing can be accepted that is not of Faith; but I speak this to show you how insignificant the profession of *Talkative* will be at that day.

FAITH. *This brings to my mind that of Moses, by which he describeth the beast that is clean. He is such an one that parteth*^{Levit. 11. 3. 6.}
 10 *the Hoof, and cheweth the Cud: not that parteth the Hoof only,*^{Deut. 14. 7.}
or that cheweth the Cud only. The Hare cheweth the Cud, but yet^{Faithful convinced of the badness of Talkative.}
is unclean, because he parteth not the Hoof. And this truly resembleth Talkative; he cheweth the Cud, he seeketh knowledge, he cheweth upon the Word, but he divideth not the Hoof, he parteth not with the way of sinners; but as the Hare, retaineth the foot of a Dog, or Bear, and therefore he is unclean.

CHR. You have spoken, for ought I know, the true Gospel sense of those Texts, and I will add another thing. *Paul*^{1 Cor. 13. 1, 2, 3. ch. 14. 7.}
 20 *Brass, and Tinkling Cymbals; that is, as he expounds them in another place, Things without life, giving sound. Things*^{Talkative like to things that sound without life.}
 without life, that is, without the true Faith and Grace of the Gospel; and consequently, things that shall never be placed in the Kingdom of Heaven among those that are the Children of life: Though their *sound*, by their *talk*, be as if it were the *Tongue* or voice of an Angel.

FAITH. *Well, I was not so fond of his company at first, but I am as sick of it now. What shall we do to be rid of him?*

CHR. Take my advice, and do as I bid you, and you shall
 30 find that he will soon be sick of your Company too, except God shall touch his heart and turn it.

FAITH. *What would you have me to do?*

CHR. Why, go to him, and enter into some serious discourse about *the power of Religion*: And ask him plainly (when he has approved of it, for that he will) whether this thing be set up in his Heart, House, or Conversation.

FAITH. Then *Faithful* stepped forward again, and said to *Talkative*: *Come, what cheer? how is it now?*

TALK. Thank you, Well. I thought we should have had a great deal of *Talk* by this time.

FAITH. *Well, if you will, we will fall to it now; and since you left it with me to state the question, let it be this: How doth the saving grace of God discover itself, when it is in the heart of man?*

Talkative's
false discovery of a
work of
grace.

TALK. I perceive then that our talk must be about the power of things; Well, 'tis a very good question, and I shall be willing to answer you. And take my answer in brief thus. First, *Where the Grace of God is in the heart, it causeth there to a great outcry against sin.* Secondly,—

FAITH. *Nay hold, let us consider of one at once: I think you should rather say, It shows itself by inclining the Soul to abhor its sin.*

To cry out
against sin,
no sign of
Grace.

TALK. Why, what difference is there between crying out against, and abhorring of sin?

Gen. 39. 15.

FAITH. *Oh! a great deal; a man may cry out against sin, of policy; but he cannot abhor it, but by vertue of a Godly antipathy against it: I have heard many cry out against sin in the Pulpit, who yet can abide it well enough in the heart, house, and conversation. Joseph's Mistris cried out with a loud voice, as if she had been very holy; but she would willingly, notwithstanding that, have committed uncleanness with him. Some cry out against sin, even as the Mother cries out against her Child in her lap, when she calleth it Slut and naughty Girl, and then falls to bugging and kissing it.*

TALK. You lie at the catch, I perceive.

FAITH. *No not I, I am only for setting things right. But what is the second thing whereby you would prove a discovery of a work of grace in the heart?*

30

TALK. Great knowledge of Gospel Mysteries.

Great know-
ledge no
sign of
grace.
1 Cor. 13. 2.

FAITH. *This sign should have been first; but first or last, it is also false; for, Knowledge, great knowledge, may be obtained in the mysteries of the Gospel, and yet no work of grace in the Soul: Yea, if a man have all knowledge, he may yet be nothing, and so consequently be no child of God. When Christ said, Do you know all these things? and the Disciples had answered, Yes: He addeth, Blessed are ye, if ye do them. He doth not lay the blessing in*

the knowing of them, but in the doing of them. For there is a knowledge that is not attended with doing: He that knoweth his Masters will, and doth it not. A man may know like an Angel, and yet be no Christian; therefore your sign is not true. Indeed to know, is a thing that pleaseth Talkers and Boasters; but to do, is that which pleaseth God. Not that the heart can be good without knowledge, for without that the heart is naught. There is therefore knowledge and knowledge. Knowledge that resteth Knowledge and know- in the bare speculation of things, and knowledge that is accompanied ledge.

10 with the grace of faith and love, which puts a man upon doing even the will of God from the heart: the first of these will serve the Talker, but without the other the true Christian is not content. Give me understanding, and I shall keep thy Law, yea I shall Psalm 119. 34. True know- observe it with my whole heart. ledge attend-

TALK. You lie at the catch again, this is not for edification. ed with

FAITH. Well, if you please, propound another sign how this work of grace discovereth itself where it is. endeavours.

TALK. Not I, for I see we shall not agree.

FAITH. Well, if you will not, will you give me leave to do it?

20 TALK. You may use your liberty.

FAITH. A work of grace in the soul discovereth itself, either to One good sign of grace. him that hath it, or to standers by.

To him that hath it, thus. It gives him conviction of sin, John 16. 8. especially of the defilement of his nature, and the sin of unbelief, Rom. 7. 24. (for the sake of which he is sure to be damned, if he findeth not John 16. 9. mercy at God's hand by faith in Jesus Christ.) This sight and Mark 16. 16. sense of things worketh in him sorrow and shame for sin; he Ps. 38. 18. findeth moreover revealed in him the Saviour of the World, and Jer. 31. 19. the absolute necessity of closing with him for life, at the which he Gal. 2. 16. Acts 4. 12.

30 findeth hungerings and thirstings after him, to which hungerings, Matth. 5. 6. etc. the promise is made. Now according to the strength or Rev. 21. 6. weakness of his Faith in his Saviour, so is his joy and peace, so is his love to holiness, so are his desires to know him more, and also to serve him in this World. But though I say it discovereth itself thus unto him; yet it is but seldom that he is able to conclude that this is a work of Grace, because his corruptions now, and his abused reason, makes his mind to mis-judge in this matter; therefore in him that hath this work, there is required a very

sound Judgement, before he can with steadiness conclude that this is a work of Grace.

Y
Rom. 10. 10.
Phil. 1. 27.
Matth. 5. 19.

To others it is thus discovered.

John 14. 15.
Ps. 50. 23.
Job 42. 5. 6.
Ezek. 20. 43.

1. By an experimental confession of his Faith in Christ. 2. By a life answerable to that confession, to wit, a life of holiness; heart-holiness, family-holiness, (if he hath a Family) and by Conversation-holiness in the World: which in the general teacheth him, inwardly to abhor his Sin, and himself for that in secret, to suppress it in his Family, and to promote holiness in the World; not by talk only, as an Hypocrite or Talkative Person may do: but by a practical Subjection in Faith, and Love, to the power of the word. And now Sir, as to this brief description of the work of Grace, and also the discovery of it, if you have ought to object, object; if not, then give me leave to propound to you a second question.

TALK. Nay, my part is not now to object, but to hear; let me therefore have your second question.

Another
good sign of
Grace.

FAITH. It is this, Do you experience the first part of this description of it? and doth your life and conversation testify the same? or standeth your Religion in Word or in Tongue, and not in Deed and Truth? pray, if you incline to answer me in this, say no more than you know the God above will say Amen to; and also, nothing but what your Conscience can justify you in: For, not he that commendeth himself is approved, but whom the Lord commendeth. Besides, to say I am thus, and thus, when my Conversation, and all my Neighbors tell me I lye, is great wickedness.

2 Cor. 10. 18.

Talkative
not pleased
with Faith-
ful's Ques-
tion.

TALK. Then Talkative at first began to blush, but recovering himself, Thus he replied, You come now to Experience, to Conscience, and God: and to appeal to him for justification of what is spoken: This kind of discourse I did not expect, nor am I disposed to give an answer to such questions, because, I count not myself bound thereto, unless you take upon you to be a Catechiser; and, though you should so do, yet I may refuse to make you my Judge. But I pray will you tell me, why you ask me such questions?

The reasons
why Faithful
put to him
that ques-
tion.

FAITH. Because I saw you forward to talk, and because I knew not that you had ought else but notion. Besides, to tell you

all the Truth, I have heard of you, that you are a Man whose Religion lies in talk, and that your Conversation gives this your Mouth-profession the lye. They say You are a spot among ^{Faithful's} *Christians, and that Religion fareth the worse for your ungodly* ^{plain dealing to} *conversations that some already have stumbled at your wicked* ^{Talkative.} *ways, and that more are in danger of being destroyed thereby; your Religion, and an Ale-House, and Covetousness, and uncleanness, and swearing, and lying, and vain Company-keeping, etc. will stand together. The proverb is true of you, which is said*
 10 *of a Whore, to wit, That she is a shame to all Women; so you are a shame to all Professors.*

TALK. Since you are ready to take up reports, and to judge ^{Talkative} so rashly as you do, I cannot but conclude you are some ^{flings away} peevish, or melancholy Man, not fit to be discoursed with, and ^{from Faithful.} so adieu.

CHR. Then came up *Christian*, and said to his Brother, I told you how it would happen, your words and his lusts could not agree; he had rather leave your company, than reform his life. But he is gone as I said; let him go; the loss ^{A good riddance.}
 20 *is no man's but his own; he has saved us the trouble of going from him; for he continuing, as I suppose he will do, as he is, he would have been but a blot in our Company: besides, the Apostle says, From such withdraw thyself.*

FAITH. *But I am glad we had this little discourse with him, it may happen that he will think of it again; however, I have dealt plainly with him, and so am clear of his blood, if he perisheth.*

CHR. You did well to talk so plainly to him as you did, there is but little of this faithful dealing with men now a days; and that makes Religion to stink in the nostrils of
 30 many, as it doth: for they are these *Talkative* Fools, whose Religion is only in word, and are debauched and vain in their Conversation, that (being so much admitted into the Fellowship of the Godly) do stumble the World, blemish Christianity, and grieve the Sincere. I wish that all men would deal with such as you have done, then should they either be made more conformable to Religion, or the company of Saints would be too hot for them.

*How Talkative at first lifts up his Plumes!
How bravely doth he speak! how he presumes
To drive down all before him! but so soon
As Faithful talks of Heart-work, like the Moon
That's past the full, into the wane he goes;
And so will all, but he that Heart-work knows.*

Thus they went on talking of what they had seen by the way, and so made that way easy, which would otherwise, no doubt, have been tedious to them: for now they went through a Wilderness.

Evangelist
overtakes
them again.

Now when they were got almost quite out of this Wilderness, *Faithful* chanced to cast his eye back, and espied one coming after them, and he knew him. Oh! said *Faithful* to his Brother, who comes yonder? Then *Christian* looked, and said, It is my good friend *Evangelist*. Ay, and my good friend too, said *Faithful*; for 'twas he that set me the way to the Gate. Now was *Evangelist* come up unto them, and thus saluted them.

They are
glad at the
sight of
them.

EVANG. Peace be with you, dearly beloved, and, peace be to your helpers.

CHR. *Welcome, welcome, my good Evangelist, the sight of thy countenance brings to my remembrance thy ancient kindness, and unwearied laboring for my eternal good.*

FAITH. *And, a thousand times welcome, said good Faithful; Thy company, O sweet Evangelist, how desirable is it to us, poor Pilgrims!*

EVANG. Then, said *Evangelist*, How hath it fared with you, my friends, since the time of our last parting? *what* have you met with, and *how* have you behaved your selves?

Then *Christian* and *Faithful* told him of all things that had happened to them in the way; and *how*, and with *what* difficulty they had arrived to that place.

His exhortation to them.

EVANG. Right glad am I, said *Evangelist*; not that you met with trials, but that you have been victors, and for that you have (notwithstanding many weaknesses,) continued in the way to this very day.

I say, right glad am I of this thing, and that for mine own

sake and yours; I have sowed, and you have reaped, and the day is coming, when both he that sowed, and they that reaped shall rejoice together; that is, if you hold out: for, in due time ye shall reap, if you faint not. The Crown is before you, and it is an incorruptible one; so run that you may obtain it. Some there be that set out for this Crown, and after they have gone far for it, another comes in, and takes it from them? hold fast therefore that you have, let no man take your Crown. You are not yet out of the gun-shot of the Devil. You have not resisted unto blood, striving against sin. Let the Kingdom be always before you, and believe stedfastly concerning things that are invisible. Let nothing that is on this side the other world get within you; and above all, look well to your own hearts, and to the lusts thereof; for they are deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked: set your faces like a flint, you have all power in Heaven and Earth on your side.

CHR. Then Christian thanked him for his exhortation, but told him *withal*, that they would have him speak farther to them for their help, the rest of the way; and the rather, for that they well knew that he was a Prophet, and could tell them of things that might happen unto them; and also how they might resist and overcome them. To which request Faithful also consented. So Evangelist began as followeth.

EVANG. My Sons, you have heard in the words of the truth of the Gospel, that you must through many tribulations enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. And again, that in every City, bonds and afflictions abide in you; and therefore you cannot expect that you should go long on your Pilgrimage without them, in some sort or other. You have found something of the truth of these testimonies upon you already, and more will immediately follow: for now, as you see, you are almost out of this Wilderness, and therefore you will soon come into a Town that you will by and by see before you: and in that Town you will be hardly beset with enemies, who will strain hard but they will kill you: and be you sure that one or both of you must seal the testimony which you hold, with blood: but be you faithful unto death, and the King will

John 4. 36.
Gal. 6. 9.

1 Cor. 9. 24,
25, 26, 27.

Rev. 3. 11.

They do
thank him
for his ex-
hortation.

He pre-
dicteth what
troubles they
shall meet
with in
Vanity-Fair,
and encour-
ageth them
to stedfast-
ness.

*He whose
lot it will be
there to suf-
fer, will
have the
better of his
brother.*

give you a Crown of life. He that shall die there, although his death will be unnatural, and his pain perhaps great, he will yet have the better of his fellow; not only because he will be arrived at the Cœlestial City soonest, but because he will escape many miseries that the other will meet with in the rest of his Journey. But when you are come to the Town, and shall find fulfilled what I have here related, then remember your friend, and quit your selves like men; and commit the keeping of your souls to your God in well-doing, as unto a faithful Creator.

10

*Isa. 40. 17.
Eccl. 1. 2, 14.
chap. 2. 11.
17.*

Then I saw in my Dream, that when they were got out of the Wilderness, they presently saw a Town before them, and the name of that Town is *Vanity*; and at the town there is a *Fair* kept, called *Vanity-Fair*. It is kept all the Year long: it beareth the name of *Vanity-Fair*, because the Town where 'tis kept, is *lighter than Vanity*; and also, because all that is there sold, or that cometh thither, is *Vanity*. As is the saying of the wise, *All that cometh is Vanity*.

This Fair is no new erected business, but a thing of ancient standing; I will shew you the original of it.

20

*The Anti-
quity of this
Fair.*

Almost five thousand years ago, there were Pilgrims walking to the Cœlestial City, as these two honest persons are; and *Beelzebub*, *Apollyon*, and *Legion*, with their Companions, perceiving by the path that the Pilgrims made, that their way to the City lay through *this Town of Vanity*, they contrived here to set up a Fair¹; a Fair wherein should be sold of *all sorts of Vanity*, and that it should last all the year long. Therefore at *this Fair* are all such Merchandize sold, as Houses, Lands, Trades, Places, Honors, Preferments, Titles, Countries, Kingdoms, Lusts, Pleasures and Delights 30 of all sorts, as Whores, Bawds, Wives, Husbands, Children, Masters, Servants, Lives, Blood, Bodies, Souls, Silver, Gold, Pearls, Precious Stones, and what not.

*The Mer-
chandize of
this Fair.*

Behold Vanity Fair! the Pilgrims there
Are chain'd and stand beside;
Even so it was our Lord pass'd here,
And on Mount Calvary dy'd

And moreover, at this Fair there is at all times to be seen Jugglings, Cheats, Games, Plays, Fools, Apes, Knaves, and Rogues, and that of every kind.

Here are to be seen too, and that for nothing, Thefts, Murders, Adulteries, False-swearers, and that of a blood-red colour.

And as in other fairs of less moment, there are the several Rows and Streets, under their proper names, where such and such Wares are vended: So here likewise, you have the
 10 proper Places, Rows, Streets, (*viz.* Countreys and Kingdoms,) where the Wares of this Fair are soonest to be found: Here is the *Britain* Row, the *French* Row, the *Italian* Row, the *Spanish* Row, the *German* Row, where several sorts of Vanities are to be sold. But as in other *fairs*, some one Commodity is as the chief of all the *fair*, so the Ware of *Rome* and her Merchandize is greatly promoted in *this fair*: Only our *English* Nation, with some others, have taken a dislike thereat.

*The Streets
of this fair.*

Now, as I said, the way to the Cœlestial City lies just
 20 through *this Town*, where this lusty Fair is kept; and he that will go to the City, and yet not go through this Town, *must* 1 Cor. 5. 10.
 needs *go out of the World*. The Prince of Princes himself, *Christ went through this fair.*
 when here, went through *this Town* to his own Country, and that upon a *Fair-day* too: Yea, and as I think, it was *Beelzebub* Matth. 4. 8, 9.
 the chief Lord of this *Fair*, that invited him to buy of his Luke 4. 5, 6.
 Vanities; yea, would have made him Lord of the *Fair*, would he but have done him Reverence as he went through the *Town*. Yea, because he was such a person of Honour, *Beelzebub* had him from *Street* to *Street*, and shewed him all
 30 the Kingdoms of the World in a little time, that he might, if possible, allure that Blessed One, to *cheapen* and *buy* some of his *Vanities*. But he had no mind to the Merchandize, and therefore left the *Town*, without laying out so much as one *Farthing* upon these *Vanities*. This *Fair* therefore is an Ancient thing, of long standing, and a very great *Fair*.

*Christ
bought
nothing in
this fair.*

Now these Pilgrims, as I said, *must* needs go through this *fair*. Well, so they did; but behold, even as they entred into the *fair*, all the people in the *fair* were moved, and the Town

*The Pil-
grims enter
the fair.*

*The fair in
a hubbub
about them.
The first
cause of the
hubbub.*

it self as it were in a Hubbub about them; and that for several reasons: For,

1 Cor. 2. 7, 8.

First, The Pilgrims were cloathed with such kind of Raiment as was diverse from the Raiment of any that Traded in that *fair*. The people therefore of the *fair* made a great gazing upon them. Some said they were Fools, some they were Bedlams, and some they are Outlandish-men.

*and Cause
of the hub-
bub.*

Secondly, And as they wondred at their Apparel, so they did likewise at their Speech, for few could understand what they said; they naturally spoke the Language of *Canaan*, but they that kept the *fair*, were the men of this World: so that from one end of the *fair* to the other, they seemed *Barbarians* each to the other.

*Third cause
of the hub-
bub.*

Ps. 119. 37.

Thirdly, But that which did not a little amuse the Merchandizers, was, that these Pilgrims set very light by all their Wares, they cared not so much as to look upon them: and if they called upon them to buy, they would put their fingers in their ears, and cry, *Turn away mine eyes from beholding vanity*; and look upwards, signifying that their Trade and Traffic was in Heaven.

20

*Fourth
cause of the
hubbub.*

Prov. 23. 23.

*They are
mocked.*

*The fair in
a hubbub.*

*They are ex-
amined.*

*They tell
who they
are, and
whence they
came.*

*Heb. 11. 13,
14, 15, 16.*

One chanced mockingly, beholding the carriages of the men, to say unto them, What will ye buy? But they, looking gravely upon him, said, *We buy the Truth*. At that, there was an occasion taken to despise the men the more; some mocking, some taunting, some speaking reproachfully, and some calling upon others to smite them. At last things came to an hubbub and great stir in the *fair*, in so much that all order was confounded. Now was word presently brought to the *Great One* of the *fair*, who quickly came down, and deputed some of his most trusty friends to take these men into examination, about whom the *fair* was almost overturned. So the men were brought to examination; and they that sat upon them asked them whence they came, whither they went, and what they did there in such an unusual Garb? The men told them, that they were Pilgrims and Strangers in the World, and that they were going to their own Country, which was the Heavenly *Jerusalem*; and that they had given none occasion to the men of the Town, nor yet to the

Merchandizers, thus to abuse them, and to let them in their Journey. Except it was for that, when one asked them what they would buy, they said they would *buy the Truth*. But they that were appointed to examine them did not believe them to be any other than Bedlams and Mad, or else such as came to put all things into a confusion in the *fair*. Therefore they took them and beat them, and besmeared them with dirt, and then put them into the Cage, that they might be made a Spectacle to all the men of the *fair*. There therefore they

10 lay for some time, and were made the objects of any mans sport, or malice, or revenge. The Great One of the *fair* laughing still at all that befel them. But the men being patient, and not rendering railing for railing, but contrarywise blessing, and giving good words for bad, and kindness for injuries done, some men in the *fair* that were more observing, and less prejudiced than the rest, began to check and blame the baser sort for their continual abuses done by them to the men. They therefore in angry manner let fly at them again, counting them as bad as the men in the Cage, and

20 telling them that they seemed confederates, and should be made partakers of their misfortunes. The other replied, That for ought they could see, the men were quiet, and sober, and intended nobody any harm; and that there were many that traded in their *fair*, that were more worthy to be put into the Cage, yea, and Pillory too, than were the men that they had abused. Thus, after divers words had passed on both sides, (the men behaving themselves all the while very wisely and soberly before them,) they fell to some Blows, and did harm one to another. Then were these two poor men

30 brought before their Examiners again, and there charged as being guilty of the late Hubbub that had been in the *fair*. So they beat them pitifully, and hanged irons upon them, and led them in chains up and down the *fair*, for an example and a terror to others, lest any should further speak in their behalf, or join themselves unto them. But *Christian* and *Faithful* behaved themselves yet more wisely, and received the ignominy and shame that was cast upon them, with so much meekness and patience, that it won to their side (though but

They are not believed.

They are put in the Cage.

Their behaviour in the Cage.

The men of the fair do fall out among themselves about these two men.

They are made the Authors of this disturbance. They are led up and down the fair in Chains for a terror to others.

Some of the men of the fair won to them.

Their adversaries resolve to kill them.

few in comparison of the rest) several of the men in the *fair*. This put the other party yet into a greater rage, insomuch that they concluded the death of these two men. Wherefore they threatned that the Cage nor irons should serve their turn, but that they should die, for the abuse they had done, and for deluding the men of the *fair*.

Then were they remanded to the Cage again until further order should be taken with them. So they put them in, and made their feet fast in the Stocks.

Here also they called again to mind what they had heard 10 from their faithful friend *Evangelist*, and was the more confirmed in their way and sufferings, by what he told them would happen to them. They also now comforted each other, that whose lot it was to suffer, that even he should have the best on't; therefore each man secretly wished that he might have that preferment; but committing themselves to the All-wise dispose of him that ruleth all things, with much content they abode in the condition in which they were, until they should be otherwise disposed of.

They are again put into the Cage and after brought to Tryal.

Then a convenient time being appointed, they brought 20 them forth to their Tryal in order to their Condemnation. When the time was come, they were brought before their Enemies and arraigned; The Judge's name was Lord *Hate-good*. Their indictment was one and the same in substance, though somewhat varying in form; the Contents whereof was this.

Their Indictment.

That they were enemies to, and disturbers of their Trade; that they had made Commotions and Divisions in the Town, and had won a party to their own most dangerous opinions, in contempt of the Law of their Prince.

Faithful's answer for himself.

Then *Faithful* began to answer¹, That he had only set himself against that which had set itself against him that is higher than the highest. And said he, As for disturbance, I make none, being myself a man of Peace; the Parties that

30

¹ Now *Faithful* play the man, speak for thy God :
Fear not the wicked's malice nor their rod :
Speak holdly man, the truth is on thy side ;
Die for it, and to life in triumph ride.

were won to us, were won by beholding our Truth and Innocence, and they are only turned from the worse to the better. And as to the King you talk of, since he is *Beelzebub*, the Enemy of our Lord, I defy him and all his Angels.

Then Proclamation was made, that they that had ought to say for their Lord the King against the Prisoner at the Bar, should forthwith appear and give in their evidence. So there came in three Witnesses, to wit, *Envy*, *Superstition*, and *Pick-thank*. They were then asked, If they knew the Prisoner at
10 the Bar? and what they had to say for their Lord the King against him?

Then stood forth *Envy*, and said to this effect; My Lord, *Envy begins*. I have known this man a long time, and will attest upon my Oath before this honourable Bench, That he is——

JUDGE. Hold, give him his Oath;

So they sware him. Then he said, My Lord, This man, notwithstanding his plausible name, is one of the vilest men in our Country; he neither regardeth Prince nor People, Law nor Custom: but doth all that he can to possess all men with
20 certain of his disloyal notions, which he in the general calls Principles of Faith and Holiness. And in particular, I heard him once myself affirm, *That Christianity and the Customs of our Town of Vanity, were Diametrically opposite, and could not be reconciled*. By which saying, my Lord, he doth at once, not only condemn all our laudable doings, but us in the doing of them.

JUDGE. Then did the Judge say to him, Hast thou any more to say?

ENVY. My Lord I could say much more, only I would not
30 be tedious to the Court. Yet if need be, when the other Gentlemen have given in their Evidence, rather than any thing shall be wanting that will dispatch him, I will enlarge my Testimony against him. So he was bid stand by. Then they called *Superstition*, and bid him look upon the Prisoner; they also asked, What he could say for their Lord the King against him? Then they sware him, so he began.

SUPER. My Lord, I have no great acquaintance with this
man, nor do I desire to have further knowledge of him; *Superstition follows.*

However this I know, that he is a very pestilent fellow, from some discourse that the other day I had with him in this *Town*; for then talking with him, I heard him say, That our Religion was naught, and such by which a man could by no means please God: which sayings of his, my Lord, your Lordship very well knows, what necessarily thence will follow, *to wit*, That we still do worship in vain, are yet in our Sins, and finally shall be damned; and this is that which I have to say.

Then was *Pickbank* sworn, and bid say what he knew, *to* in behalf of their Lord the King against the Prisoner at the Bar.

Pick-thank's
Testimony.

Sins are all
Lords and
Great ones.

PICK. My Lord, and you gentlemen all, This fellow I have known of a long time, and have heard him speak things that ought not to be spoke. For he hath railed on our noble Prince *Beelzebub*, and hath spoke contemptibly of his honourable Friends, whose names are the Lord *Oldman*, the Lord *Carnal-delight*, the Lord *Luxurious*, the Lord *Desire of Vain-glory*, my old Lord *Lechery*, Sir *Having Greedy*, with all the rest of our Nobility; and he hath said moreover, that if all men *20* were of his mind, if possible, there is not one of these Noble-men should have any longer a being in this Town. Besides, he hath not been afraid to rail on you, my Lord, who are now appointed to be his Judge, calling you an ungodly Villain, with many other such like vilifying terms, with which he hath bespattered most of the Gentry of our Town. When this *Pickbank* had told his tale, the Judge directed his speech to the Prisoner at the Bar, saying, Thou Runagate, Heretick, and Traitor, hast thou heard what these honest Gentlemen have witnessed against thee? 30

FAITH. *May I speak a few words in my own defence?*

JUDGE. Sirrah, Sirrah, thou deservest to live no longer, but to be slain immediately upon the place; yet that all men may see our gentleness towards thee, let us see what thou hast to say.

Faithful's
defence of
himself.

FAITH. 1. I say then in answer to what Mr. *Envy* hath spoken, I never said ought but this, *That what Rule, or Laws, or Custom, or People, were flat against the Word of God, are*

diametrically opposite to Christianity. If I have said amiss in this, convince me of my error, and I am ready here before you to make my recantation.

2. As to the second, to wit, Mr. *Superstition*, and his charge against me, I said only this, *That in the worship of God there is required a divine Faith; but there can be no divine Faith without a divine Revelation of the will of God: therefore whatever is thrust into the worship of God, that is not agreeable to divine Revelation, cannot be done but by an human Faith; which Faith*
 10 *will not be profit to Eternal life.*

3. As to what Mr. *Pickbank* hath said, I say, (avoiding terms, as that I am said to rail, and the like) That the Prince of this Town, with all the Rabblement his Attendants, by this Gentleman named, are more fit for a being in Hell, than in this Town and Country; *and so the Lord have mercy upon me.*

Then the Judge called to the Jury (who all this while stood by, to hear and observe) Gentlemen of the Jury, you see this man about whom so great an uproar hath been made in this
 20 Town: you have also heard what these worthy Gentlemen have witnessed against him; also you have heard his reply and confession: It lieth now in your breasts to hang him, or save his life, But yet I think meet to instruct you into our Law.

There was an Act made in the days of *Pbaraob* the Great, Exod. 1. 22. Servant to our Prince, That lest those of a contrary Religion should multiply and grow too strong for him, their Males should be thrown into the River. There was also an Act made in the days of *Nebuchadnezzar* the Great, another of his
 30 Servants, that whoever would not fall down and worship his golden Image, should be thrown into a fiery Furnace. There was also an Act made in the days of *Darius*, That whoso, for
Dan. 3. 4-6
Dan. 6. 7-9
 some time, called upon any God but him, should be cast into the Lions' Den. Now the substance of these Laws this Rebel has broken, not only in thought (which is not to be borne) but also in word and deed; which must therefore needs be intolerable.

For that of *Pbaraob*, his Law was made upon a supposition, to prevent mischief, no Crime being yet apparent; but here is a Crime apparent. For the second and third, you see he

*The Judge
his speech to
the Jury.*

disputeth against our Religion ; and for the Treason he hath confessed, he deserveth to die the death.

*The Jury
and their
Names.*

Then went the Jury out, whose names were, Mr. *Blind-man*, Mr. *No-good*, Mr. *Malice*, Mr. *Love-lust*, Mr. *Live-loose*, Mr. *Heady*, Mr. *High-mind*, Mr. *Enmity*, Mr. *Lyar*, Mr. *Cruelty*, Mr. *Hate-light*, and Mr. *Implacable*, who every one gave in his private Verdict against him among themselves, and afterwards unanimously concluded to bring him in guilty before the Judge. And first Mr. *Blind-man* the Foreman, said, *I see*

*Every one's
private Ver-
dict.*

clearly that this man is an Heretick. Then said Mr. *No-good*, *Away with such a fellow from the Earth.* Ay, said Mr. *Malice*, *for I hate the very looks of him.* Then said Mr. *Love-lust*, *I could never endure him.* Nor I, said Mr. *Live-loose*, *for he would always be condemning my way.* Hang him, hang him, said Mr. *Heady.* A sorry Scrub, said Mr. *High-mind.* My heart riseth against him, said Mr. *Enmity.* He is a Rogue, said Mr. *Lyar.* Hanging is too good for him, said Mr. *Cruelty.* Lets dispatch him out of the way, said Mr. *Hate-light.* Then said Mr. *Implacable*, *Might I have all the World given me, I could not be reconciled to him, therefore let us forthwith bring him in* 10 *guilty of death ;* And so they did, therefore he was presently condemned, To be had from the place where he was, to the place from whence he came, and there to be put to the most cruel death that could be invented¹.

*They con-
clude to
bring him
in guilty of
death.*

They therefore brought him out, to do with him according to their Law ; and first they Scourged him, then they Buffeted him, then they Lanced his flesh with Knives ; after that, they Stoned him with Stones, then prickt him with their Swords, and last of all they burned him to Ashes at the Stake. Thus came *Faithful* to his end. Now, I saw that there stood behind 30 the multitude, a Chariot and a couple of Horses, waiting for *Faithful*, who (so soon as his adversaries had dispatched him) was taken up into it, and straightway was carried up through

*The Cruel
death of
Faithful.*

*A Chariot
and Horses
wait to take
away
Faithful.*

1 Brave *Faithful*, Bravely done in word and deed ;
Judge, Witnesses, and Jury, have instead
Of overcoming thee, but shewn their rage,
When they are dead, thou 't live, from age to age.

the Clouds, with sound of Trumpet, the nearest way to the Cœlestial Gate. But as for *Christian*, he had some respite, and was remanded back to prison, so he there remained for a space. But he that over-rules all things, having the power of their rage in his own hand, so wrought it about, that *Christian* for that time escaped them, and went his way. *Christian is still alive.*

And as he went he sang, saying,

Well, Faithful, thou hast faithfully profest
Unto thy Lord: with whom thou shalt be blest;
10 When Faithless ones, with all their vain delights,
Are crying out under their bellish plights.
Sing, Faithful, sing; and let thy name survive,
For though they kill'd thee, thou art yet alive.

The Song
that Christian
made of
Faithful
after his
death.

Now I saw in my Dream, that *Christian* went not forth alone, for there was one whose name was *Hopeful*, (being made so by the beholding of *Christian* and *Faithful* in their words and behaviour, in their sufferings at the *fair*) who joyned himself unto him, and entering into a brotherly covenant, told him that he would be his Companion. Thus
20 one died to make Testimony to the Truth, and another rises out of his Ashes to be a Companion with *Christian*. This *Hopeful* also told *Christian*, that there were many more of the men in the *fair* that would take their time and follow after. *Christian has another Companion.*

So I saw that quickly after they were got out of the *fair*, they overtook one that was going before them, whose name was *By-ends*; so they said to him, What Country-man, Sir? and how far go you this way? He told them, That he came from the Town of *Fair-speech*, and he was going to the
30 Cœlestial City, (but told them not his name.) *There is more of the men of the fair will follow.*

From *Fair-speech*, said *Christian*; is there any that be good Prov. 26. 25.
live there?

BY-ENDS. Yes, said *By-ends*, I hope.

CHR. Pray Sir, what may I call you?

BY-ENDS. I am a Stranger to you, and you to me; if you be going this way, I shall be glad of your Company; if not, I must be content. *By-ends told to tell his name.*

CHR. *This Town of Fair-speech, I have heard of it, and, as I remember, they say it's a Wealthy place.*

BY-ENDS. Yes, I will assure you that it is, and I have very many rich Kindred there.

CHR. *Pray, who are your Kindred there, if a man may be so bold?*

BY-ENDS. Almost the whole Town; and in particular, my Lord Turn-about, my Lord Time-server, my Lord Fair-speech, (from whose Ancestors that Town first took its name:) Also Mr. Smooth-man, Mr. Facing-bothways, Mr. Any-thing, and the 10 Parson of our Parish, Mr. Two-tongues, was my Mother's own Brother by Father's side: And, to tell you the Truth, I am a Gentleman of good Quality; yet my Great-Grandfather was but a Water-man, looking one way, and rowing another; and I got most of my Estate by the same occupation.

CHR. *Are you a married man?*

*The wife
and Kin-
dred of
By-ends.*

BY-ENDS. Yes, and my Wife is a very vertuous Woman, the Daughter of a vertuous Woman. She was my Lady Fainings Daughter, therefore she came of a very Honourable Family, and is arrived at such a pitch of Breeding, that she 20 knows how to carry it to all, even to Prince and Peasant. 'Tis true, we somewhat differ in Religion from those of the stricter sort, yet but in two small points: First, we never strive against Wind and Tide. Secondly, we are always most zealous when Religion goes in his Silver Slippers; we love much to walk with him in the Street, if the Sun shines, and the people applaud it.

*Where By-
ends differs
from others
in Religion.*

Then Christian stept a little a to-side to his fellow Hopeful, saying, It runs in my mind that this is one By-ends of Fair-speech, and if it be he, we have as very a Knave in our 30 Company as dwelleth in all these parts. Then said Hopeful, Ask him; methinks he should not be ashamed of his name. So Christian came up with him again, and said, Sir, you talk as if you knew something more than all the World doth, and if I take not my mark amiss, I deem I have half a guess of you: Is not your name Mr. By-ends of Fair-speech?

BY-ENDS. That is not my name, but indeed it is a Nick-name that is given me by some that cannot abide me, and

I must be content to bear it as a reproach, as other good men have born theirs before me.

CHR. *But did you never give an occasion to men to call you by this name?*

BY-ENDS. Never, never! the worst that ever I did to give them an occasion to give me this name, was, that I had always the luck to jump in my Judgment with the present way of the times, whatever it was, and my chance was to get thereby; but if things are thus cast upon me, let me count to them a blessing, but let not the malicious load me therefore with reproach.

CHR. *I thought indeed, that you was the man that I had heard of, and to tell you what I think, I fear this name belongs to you more properly than you are willing we should think it doth.*

BY-ENDS. Well, if you will thus imagine, I cannot help it. You shall find me a fair Company-keeper, if you will still admit me your associate.

CHR. *If you will go awith us, you must go against Wind and Tide, the which, I perceive, is against your opinion: You must also own Religion in his Rags, as well as when in his Silver Slippers, and stand by him too, when bound in Irons, as well as when he walketh the Streets with applause.*

BY-ENDS. You must not impose, nor lord it over my Faith; leave me to my liberty, and let me go with you.

CHR. *Not a step further, unless you will do in what I propound, as we.*

Then said By-ends, I shall never desert my old Principles, since they are harmless and profitable. If I may not go with you, I must do as I did before you overtook me, even go by myself, until some overtake me that will be glad of my Company.

Now I saw in my dream, that Christian and Hopeful, forsook him, and kept their distance before him; but one of them looking back, saw three men following Mr. By-ends, and behold, as they came up with him, he made them a very low Congee, and they also gave him a Compliment. The men's names were Mr. Hold-the-World, Mr. Money-love, and Mr. Save-all; men that Mr. By-ends had formerly been acquainted

How By-ends got his name.

He desires to keep Company with Christian.

By-ends and Christian parts.

He has new Companions.

with; for in their minority they were schoolfellow, and were taught by one Mr. *Gripe-man*, a School-master in *Love-gain*, which is a market town in the County of *Coveting* in the North. This Schoolmaster taught them the art of getting, either by violence, cousenage, flattery, lying, or by putting on a guise of Religion; and these four Gentlemen had attained much of the art of their Master, so that they could each of them have kept such a School themselves.

Well when they had, as I said, thus saluted each other, Mr. *Mony-love* said to Mr. *By-ends*, Who are they upon the 10 Road before us? For *Christian* and *Hopeful* were yet within view.

By-ends' Character of the Pilgrims.

BY-ENDS. They are a couple of far country-men, that after *their mode*, are going on Pilgrimage.

MONY-LOVE. Alas, why did they not stay that we might have had their good company, for *they*, and *we*, and *you* Sir, I hope, are all going on Pilgrimage.

BY-ENDS. We are so indeed, but the men before us are so rigid, and love so much their own notions, and do also so lightly esteem the Opinions of others; that let a man 20 be never so godly, yet if he jumps not with them in all things, they thrust him quite out of their company.

SAVE-ALL. That's bad; But we read of some, *that are righteous over-much*, and such men's rigidness prevails with them to judge and condemn all but themselves. But I pray *what* and *how* many, were the things wherein you differed.

BY-ENDS. Why they after their headstrong manner, conclude that it is duty to rush on their Journey *all* weathers, and I am for waiting for *Wind* and *Tide*. They are for hazarding all for God, at a clap, and I am for taking *all* advantages to 30 secure my life and estate. They are for holding *their notions*, though all other men are against them; but I am for Religion in what, and so far as the times, and my safety will bear it. They are for Religion, when in rags, and contempt; but I am for him when he walks in his golden slippers in the Sun-shine, and with applause.

HOLD-THE-WORLD. Ay, and hold you there still, good Mr. *By-ends*, for, for my part, I can count him but a fool,

that having the liberty to keep what he has, shall be so unwise as to lose it. Let us be wise as *Serpents*, 'tis best to make hay when the Sun shines; you see how the Bee lieth still all winter and bestirs her then only when she can have profit with pleasure. God sends sometimes Rain, and sometimes Sun-shine; if they be such fools to go through the first, yet let us be content to take fair weather along with us. For my part I like that Religion best, that will stand with the security of God's good blessings unto us; for who can imagine that
 10 is ruled by his reason, since God has bestowed upon us the good things of this life, but that he would have us keep them for his sake. *Abraham* and *Solomon* grew rich in Religion. And *Job* says, that a good man *shall lay up gold as dust*. But he must not be such as the men before us, if they be as you have described them.

SAVE-ALL. I think that we are all agreed in this matter, and therefore there needs no more words about it.

MONY-LOVE. No, there needs no more words about this matter indeed, for he that believes neither Scripture nor
 20 reason (and you see we have both on our side) neither knows his own liberty, nor seeks his own safety.

BY-ENDS. My Brethren, we are, as you see, going all on Pilgrimage, and for our better diversion from things that are bad, give me leave to propound unto you this question.

*Suppose a man, a Minister, or a Tradesman, &c. should have an advantage lie before him to get the good blessings of this life. Yet so, as that he can by no means come by them, except, in appearance at least, he becomes extraordinary Zealous in some points of Religion, that he meddled not with before, may he not use
 30 this means to attain his end, and yet be a right honest man?*

MONY-LOVE. I see the bottom of your question, and with these Gentlemen's good leave, I will endeavour to shape you an answer. And first to speak to your question, as it concerns a Minister himself. *Suppose a Minister, a worthy man, possessed but of a very small benefice, and has in his eye a greater, more fat, and plump by far; he has also now an opportunity of getting of it; yet so as by being more studious, by preaching more frequently and zealously, and because the temper of the people*

requires, it, by altering of some of his principles; for my part I see no reason but a man may do this (provided he has a call,) ay, and more a great deal besides, and yet be an honest man. For why,

1. His desire of a greater benefice is lawful (this cannot be contradicted) since 'tis set before him by providence; so then, he may get it if he can, *making no question for conscience sake.*

2. Besides, his desire after that benefice makes him more studious, a more zealous preacher, &c. and so makes him a better man. Yea makes him better improve his parts, which is according to the mind of God. 10

3. Now as for his complying with the temper of his people, by dissenting, to serve them, some of his principles, this argueth, 1. That he is of a self-denying temper. 2. Of a sweet and winning deportment. 3. And so more fit for the Ministerial function.

4. I conclude then, that a Minister that changes a *small* for a *great*, should not, for so doing, be judged as covetous, but rather, since he is improved in his parts and industry thereby, be counted as one that pursues his call, and the opportunity put into his hand to do good. 20

And now to the second part of the question which concerns the *Tradesman* you mentioned: suppose such an one to have but a poor imploy in the world, but by becoming Religious, he may mend his market, perhaps get a rich wife, or more and far better customers to his shop. For my part I see no reason but that this may be lawfully done. For why,

1. To become religious is a vertue, by what means soever a man becomes so.

2. Nor is it unlawful to get a rich wife, or more custom to my shop. 30

3. Besides the man that gets these by becoming religious, gets that which is good, of them that are good, by becoming good himself; so then here is a good wife, and good customers, and good gain, and all these by becoming religious, which is good. Therefore to become religious to get all these is a good and profitable design.

This answer, thus made by this Mr. *Mony-love* to Mr. *By-ends* question, was highly applauded by them all; wherefore

they concluded upon the whole, that it was most wholesome and advantageous. And because, as they thought, no man was able to contradict it, and because *Christian* and *Hopeful* was yet within call, they joyntly agreed to assault them with the question as soon as they overtook them, and the rather because they had opposed Mr. *By-ends* before. So they called after them, and they stopt, and stood still till they came up to them; but they concluded as they went, that not Mr. *By-ends*, but old Mr. *Hold-the-world* should propound the question to
 10 them, because, as they supposed, their answer to him would be without the remainder of that heat that was kindled betwixt Mr. *By-ends* and them, at their parting a little before.

So they came up to each other and after a short salutation, Mr. *Hold-the-World* propounded the question to *Christian* and his fellow, and bid them to answer it if they could.

CHR. Then said *Christian*, even a babe in Religion may answer ten thousand such questions. For if it be unlawful to follow Christ for loaves, as it is, *Job*. 6. How much more abominable is it to make of him and religion a stalking horse
 20 to get and enjoy the world. Nor do we find any other than Heathens, Hypocrites, Devils and Witches that are of this opinion.

1. *Heathens*, for when *Hamor* and *Shechem* had a mind to the Daughter and Cattle of *Jacob*, and saw that there was no ways for them to come at them, but by becoming circumcised, they say to their companions; If every male of us be circumcised, as they are circumcised, shall not their Cattle, and their substance, and every beast of theirs be ours? Their Daughter and their Cattle were that which they sought
 30 to obtain, and their Religion the stalking horse they made use of to come at them. Read the whole story, *Gen*. 34. 20, 21, 22, 23.

2. The Hypocritical Pharisees were also of this Religion, long prayers were their pretence, but to get widows' houses were their intent, and greater damnation was from God their Judgment, *Luke* 20. 46, 47.

3. *Judas* the Devil was also of this Religion, he was religious for the bag, that he might be possessed of what was

therein; but he was lost, cast away, and the very Son of perdition.

4. *Simon* the witch was of this Religion too, for he would have had the Holy Ghost, that he might have got money therewith, and his sentence from *Peter's* mouth was according, *Acts* 8. 19, 20, 21, 22.

5. Neither will it out of my mind, but that that man that takes up Religion for the world, will throw away Religion for the world; for so surely as *Judas* designed the world in becoming religious, so surely did he also sell Religion, and his Master 10 for the same. To answer the question therefore affirmatively, as I perceive you have done, and to accept of as authentick such answer, is both Heathenish, Hypocritical and Devilish, and your reward will be according to your works. Then they stood staring one upon another, but had not wherewith to answer *Christian*. *Hopeful* also approved of the soundness of *Christian's* answer, so there was a great silence among them. Mr. *By-ends* and his company also staggered and kept behind, that *Christian* and *Hopeful* might outgo them. Then said *Christian* to his fellow, If these men cannot 20 stand before the sentence of men, what will they do with the sentence of God? & if they are mute when dealt with by vessels of clay, what will they do when they shall be rebuked by the flames of a devouring fire?

The ease that Pilgrims have is but little in this life.

Lucre Hill a dangerous Hill.

Then *Christian* and *Hopeful* out-went them, and went till they came at a delicate Plain, called *Ease*, where they went with much content; but that plain was but *narrow*, so they were quickly got over it. Now at the further side of that plain, was a little Hill called *Lucre*, and in that Hill a *Silver-Mine*, which some of them that had formerly gone that way, 30 because of the rarity of it, had turned aside to see; but going too near the brink of the pit, the ground being deceitful under them, broke, and they were slain; some also had been maimed there, and could not to their dying day be their own men again.

Demas at the Hill Lucre.

Then I saw in my Dream, that a little off the road, over against the *Silver-Mine*, stood *Demas* (*Gentleman-like*,) to call to Passengers to come and see: who said to *Christian* and

his Fellow; Ho, turn aside hither, and I will shew you a thing. *He calls to Christian and Hopeful to come to him.*

CHR. *What thing so deserving, as to turn us out of the way?*

DE. Here is a Silver-Mine, and some digging in it for Treasure; if you will come, with a little pains, you may richly provide for yourselves.

HOPE. Then said Hopeful, *Let us go see.*

CHR. Not I, said *Christian*; I have heard of this place before now, and how many have there been slain; and besides, that Treasure is a snare to those that seek it, for it hindreth them in their Pilgrimage. Then *Christian* called to Demas, saying, *Is not the place dangerous? hath it not hindered many in their Pilgrimage?* *Hopeful tempted to go but Christian holds him back.* *11os. 4. 18.*

DE. Not very dangerous, except to those that are careless: but withal, he *blushed* as he spake.

CHR. Then said *Christian* to Hopeful, Let us not stir a step, but still keep on our way.

HOPE. *I will warrant you, when By-ends comes up, if he hath the same invitation as we, he will turn in thither to see.*

CHR. No doubt thereof, for his principles lead him that way, and a hundred to one but he dies there.

DE. Then Demas called again, saying, But will you not come over and see?

CHR. Then *Christian* roundly answered, saying, Demas, Thou art an Enemy to the right ways of the Lord in this way, and hast been already condemned for thine own turning aside, by one of his Majesty's Judges; and why seekest thou to bring us into the like condemnation? Besides, if we at all turn aside, our Lord the King will certainly hear thereof; and will there put us to shame, where we would stand with boldness before him. *Christian roundeth up Demas.* *2 Tim. 4. 10.*

Demas cried again, That he also was one of their fraternity; and that if they would tarry a little, he also himself would walk with them.

CHR. Then said *Christian*, What is thy name? is it not the same by the which I have called thee?

DE. Yes, my name is Demas, I am the son of Abraham.

CHR. I know you, Gebazi was your Great-Grandfather, and

Matth. 26. 14. *Judas* your Father, and you have trod their steps. It is but
 15. chap. 27. a devilish prank that thou usest. Thy Father was hanged for
 3. 4. 5. a Traitor, and thou deservest no better reward. Assure thyself, that when we come to the King, we will do him word of this thy behaviour. Thus they went their way.

By this time *By-ends* and his companions was come again
 By-ends goes within sight, and they at the first beck went over to *Demas*.
 over to Demas. Now whether they fell into the Pit by looking over the brink thereof; or whether they went down to dig, or whether they were smothered in the bottom, by the damps that commonly
 10 arise, of these things I am not certain: But this I observed, that they were never seen again in the way. Then sang *Christian*,

*By-ends and Silver-Demas both agree;
 One calls, the other runs, that he may be,
 A sharer in his Lucre: so these two
 Take up in this World, and no further go.*

Now I saw, that just on the other side of this Plain, the
 They see a Pilgrims came to a place where stood an old *Monument*, hard
 strange No- by the High-way-side, at the sight of which they were both
 nument. concerned, because of the strangeness of the form thereof; 20
 for it seemed to them as if it had been a *Woman* transformed
 into the shape of a Pillar: here therefore they stood looking,
 and looking upon it, but could not for a time tell what they
 should make thereof. At last *Hopeful* espied written above
 upon the head thereof, a Writing in an unusual hand; but
 he being no Scholar, called to *Christian* (for he was learned)
 to see if he could pick out the meaning: so he came, and
 after a little laying of Letters together, he found the same
 to be this, *Remember Lot's Wife*. So he read it to his fellow;
 Gen. 19. 26. after which, they both concluded, that that was the Pillar of 30
 Salt into which *Lot's Wife* was turned for looking back with
 a covetous heart, when she was going from *Sodom* for safety,
 which sudden and amazing sight, gave them occasion of this
 discourse.

CHR. Ah my brother, this is a seasonable sight, it came
 opportunely to us after the invitation which *Demas* gave us
 to come over to view the Hill *Lucre*: and had we gone over

as he desired us, and as thou wast inclining to do (my Brother) we had, for ought I know, been made ourselves like this Woman, a spectacle for those that shall come after to behold.

HOPE. I am sorry that I was so foolish, and am made to wonder that I am not now as *Lot's Wife*; for wherein was the difference 'twixt her sin and mine. She only looked back, and I had a desire to go see. Let Grace be adored, and let me be ashamed that ever such a thing should be in mine
10 heart.

CHR. Let us take notice of what we see here, for our help for time to come: *This* woman escaped one Judgment; for she fell not by the destruction of *Sodom*, yet she was destroyed by another; as we see, she is turned into a Pillar of Salt.

HOPE. True, and she may be to us both *Caution* and *Example*; *Caution* that we should shun her sin, or a sign of what judgment will overtake such as shall not be prevented by this caution. So *Korah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, with the two hundred and fifty men, that perished in their sin, did also
10 become a sign, or example to others to beware. But above all, I muse at one thing, to wit, how *Demas* and his fellows can stand so confidently yonder to look for that treasure, which this Woman, but for looking behind her, after (for we read not that she stept one foot out of the way) was turned into a pillar of Salt; specially since the Judgment which overtook her, did make her an example, within sight of where they are: for they cannot chuse but see her, did they but lift up their eyes.

CHR. It is a thing to be wondered at, and it argueth that
30 their heart is grown desperate in the case; and I cannot tell who to compare them to so fitly, as to them that pick Pockets in the presence of the Judge, or that will cut Purses under the Gallows. It is said of the men of *Sodom*, that they were
sinners exceedingly, because they were sinners before the Lord; that is, in his eyesight; and notwithstanding the kindnesses that he had shewed them, for the land of *Sodom*, was now, like the Garden of *Eden* heretofore. This therefore provoked him
the more to jealousy, and made their plague as hot as the fire

of the Lord out of Heaven could make it. And it is most rationally to be concluded, that such, even such as these are, that shall sin in the sight, yea, and that too in despite of such examples that are set continually before them, to caution them to the contrary, must be partakers of severest Judgments.

HOPE. Doubtless thou hast said the truth, but what a mercy is it, that neither thou, but especially I, am not made myself this example: this ministrETH occasion to us to thank God, to fear before him, and always to remember *Lot's Wife*.

I saw then, that they went on their way to a pleasant ¹⁰ River, which *David the King* called *the River of God*; but *John*, *the River of the water of life*. Now their way lay just upon the bank of the River: here therefore *Christian* and his Companion walked with great delight. They drank also of the water of the River, which was pleasant and enlivening to their weary Spirits: besides, on the banks of this River on either side were *green Trees*, that bore all manner of Fruit; and the leaves of the Trees were good for Medicine; with the Fruit of these Trees they were also much delighted; and the leaves they eat to prevent Surfeits, and other Diseases ²⁰ that are incident to those that heat their blood by Travels. On either side of the River was also a Meadow, curiously beautified with Lilies; and it was green all the year long. In this Meadow they lay down and slept, for here they might lie down safely. When they awoke, they gathered again of the Fruit of the Trees, and drank again of the Water of the River, and then lay down again to sleep. Thus they did several days and nights. Then they sang:

A River.
Ps. 65. 9.
Rev. 22. 1-3.
Ezek. 47.

Trees by the River.
The Fruit
and leaves of
the Trees.

*A Meadow
in which
they lie down
to sleep.*
Ps. 23. 2.
Isa. 14. 30.

*Behold ye how these Crystal streams do glide
(To comfort Pilgrims) by the Highway side;
The Meadows green, besides their fragrant smell,
Yield dainties for them: And he that can tell
What pleasant Fruit, yea Leaves, these Trees do yield,
Will soon sell all, that he may buy this Field.*

30

So when they were disposed to go on (for they were not, as yet, at their Journey's end) they eat and drank, and departed.

Now I beheld in my Dream, that they had not journeyed far, but the River and the way, for a time, parted. At which they were not a little sorry, yet they durst not go out of the way. Now the way from the River was rough, and their feet tender by reason of their Travels: *So the soul of the Pilgrims* Numb. 21. 4 *was much discouraged, because of the way.* Wherefore still as they went on, they wished for better way. Now a little before them, there was on the left hand of the Road, a Meadow, and a Stile to go over into it, and that Meadow is
 10 called *By-Path-Meadow*. Then said *Christian* to his fellow, If this Meadow lieth along by our way side, lets go over into it. Then he went to the Stile to see, and behold a Path lay along by the way on the other side of the fence. 'Tis according to my wish said *Christian*, here is the easiest going; come
 good *Hopeful*, and let us go over.

HOPE. *But how if this Path should lead us out of the way?*

CHR. That's not like, said the other; look, doth it not go
 along by the way side? So *Hopeful*, being perswaded by his
 fellow, went after him over the Stile. When they were gone
 20 over, and were got into the Path, they found it very easy for
 their feet; and withal, they looking before them, espied a Man
 walking as they did, (and his name was *Vain confidence*) so
 they called after him, and asked him whither that way led?
 he said, *To the Cælestial Gate*. Look, said *Christian*, did not
 I tell you so? by this you may see we are right. So they
 followed, and he went before them. But behold the night
 came on, and it grew very dark, so that they that were be-
 hind lost the sight of him that went before.

He therefore that went before (*Vain confidence* by name)
 30 not seeing the way before him, fell into a deep Pit, which was
 on purpose there made by the Prince of those grounds to
 catch *vain glorious* fools withal and was dashed to pieces
 with his fall.

Now *Christian* and his fellow heard him fall. So they
 called, to know the matter, but there was none to answer,
 only they heard a groaning. Then said *Hopeful*, Where are
 we now? Then was his fellow silent, as mistrusting that he
 had led him out of the way. And now it began to rain, and

thunder, and lighten in a very dreadful manner, and the water rose amain.

Then *Hopeful* groaned in himself, saying, *Oh that I had kept on my way!*

CHR. Who could have thought that this path should have led us out of the way?

HOPE. *I was afraid on't at very first, and therefore gave you that gentle caution. I would have spoke plainer, but that you are older than I.*

Christians
repentance
for leading
of his Bro-
ther out of
the way.

CHR. Good Brother be not offended, I am sorry I have ¹⁰ brought thee out of the way, and that I have put thee into such eminent danger; pray my Brother forgive me, I did not do it of an evil intent.

HOPE. *Be comforted my Brother for I forgive thee; and believe too, that this shall be for our good.*

CHR. I am glad I have with me a merciful Brother. But we must not stand thus; let's try to go back again.

HOPE. *But good Brother let me go before.*

CHR. No, if you please, let me go first; that if there be any danger, I may be first therein, because by my means we ²⁰ are both gone out of the way.

Jer. 31. 21.
They are in
danger of
drowning
as they go
back.

HOPE. *No, said Hopeful, you shall not go first, for your mind being troubled, may lead you out of the way again.* Then for their encouragement, they heard the voice of one saying, *Let thine heart be towards the High-way, even the way that thou wentest, turn again.* But by this time the Waters were greatly risen, by reason of which, the way of going back was very dangerous. (Then I thought that it is easier going out of the way when we are in, than going in when we are out.)¹ Yet they adventured to go back; but it was so dark, and the ³⁰ flood was so high, that in their going back, they had like to have been drowned nine or ten times.

Neither could they, with all the skill they had, get again to the Stile that night. Wherefore, at last, lighting under a little shelter, they sat down there till the day brake; but

¹ *The Pilgrims now, to gratify the Flesh,
Will seek its ease; but Oh! how they afresh
Do thereby plunge themselves new grivues into:
Who seek to please the Flesh, themselves undo.*

being weary, they fell asleep. Now there was not far from the place where they lay, a *Castle*, called *Doubting-Castle*, the owner whereof was *Giant Despair*, and it was in his grounds they now were sleeping; wherefore he getting up in the morning early, and walking up and down in his Fields, caught *Christian* and *Hopeful* asleep in his grounds. Then with a grim and surly voice he bid them awake, and asked them whence they were? and what they did in his grounds? They told him, they were Pilgrims, and that they had lost their way. Then said the *Giant*, You have this night trespassed on me, by trampling in, and lying on my grounds, and therefore you must go along with me. So they were forced to go, because he was stronger than they. They also had but little to say, for they knew themselves in a fault. The *Giant* therefore drove them before him, and put them into his Castle, into a very dark Dungeon, nasty and stinking to the spirit of these two men. Here then they lay, from *Wednesday* morning till *Saturday* night, without one bit of bread, or drop of drink, or any light, or any to ask how they did. They were therefore here in evil case, and were far from friends and acquaintance. Now in this place, *Christian* had double sorrow, because 'twas through his unadvised haste that they were brought into this distress.

Now *Giant Despair* had a Wife, and her name was *Diffidence*. So when he was gone to bed, he told his Wife what he had done, to wit, that he had taken a couple of Prisoners, and cast them into his *Dungeon*, for trespassing on his grounds. Then he asked her also what he had best to do further to them. So she asked him what they were, whence they came, and whither they were bound; and he told her: then she counselled him, that when he arose in the morning, he should beat them, without any mercy. So when he arose, he getteth him a grievous Crab-tree Cudgel, and goes down into the *Dungeon* to them; and there, first falls to rateing of them as if they were dogs, although they gave him never a word of distaste; then he falls upon them, and beats them fearfully, in such sort, that they were not able to help themselves, or to turn them upon the floor. This done, he withdraws and

They sleep in the grounds of Giant Despair.

He finds them in his ground and carries them to Doubting Castle.

The Grievousness of their Imprisonment.

1st. 88. 18.

On Thursday Giant Despair beats his Prisoners.

leaves them, there to condole their misery, and to mourn under their distress. So all that day they spent the time in nothing but sighs and bitter lamentations. The next night she talking with her Husband about them further, and understanding that they were yet alive, did advise him to counsel them, to make away themselves. So when morning was come, he goes to them in a surly manner, as before, and perceiving them to be very sore with the stripes that he had given them the day before, he told them, that since they were never like to come out of that place, their only way would be, forthwith to make an end of themselves, either with Knife, Halter, or Poison: For why, said he, should you chuse life, seeing it is attended with so much bitterness. But they desired him to let them go; with that he looked ugly upon them, and rushing to them, had doubtless made an end of them himself, but that he fell into one of his fits; (for he sometimes in sun-shine weather fell into fits) and lost (for a time) the use of his hand: wherefore he withdrew, and left them, (as before) to consider what to do. Then did the Prisoners consult between themselves, whether 'twas best to take his counsel or no: and thus they began to discourse.

*On Friday
Giant Des-
pair coun-
sels them to
kill them-
selves.*

*The Giant
sometimes
has fits.*

*Christian
crushed.*

Job 7. 15.

CHR. Brother, said *Christian*, what shall we do? the life that we now live is miserable; for my part I know not whether is best, to live thus, or to die out of hand? *My soul chooseth strangling rather than life*; and the Grave is more easy for me than this Dungeon. Shall we be ruled by the Giant?

*Hopeful
comforts
him.*

HOPE. *Indeed our present condition is dreadful, and death would be far more welcome to me than thus for ever to abide. But yet let us consider, the Lord of the Country to which we are going, hath said, Thou shalt do no murther, no not to another man's person; much more then are we forbidden to take his counsel to kill ourselves. Besides, he that kills another, cannot but commit murder upon his body; but for one to kill himself, is to kill body and soul at once. And moreover, my Brother, thou talkest of ease in the Grave; but hast thou forgotten the Hell, whither for certain the murderers go? for no murderer hath eternal life, etc. And, let us consider again, that all the Law is not in the band of Giant*

Despair. Others, so far as I can understand, have been taken by him, as well as we; and yet have escaped out of his hand. Who knows but that God that made the world may cause that Giant Despair may die; or that, at some time or other he may forget to lock us in; or, but he may in short time have another of his fits before us, and may lose the use of his limbs; and if ever that should come to pass again, for my part, I am resolved to pluck up the heart of a man, and to try my utmost to get from under his hand. I was a fool that I did not try to do it before: but how-
 10 ever, my Brother, let's be patient, and endure a while; the time may come that may give us a happy release: but let us not be our own murderers. With these words Hopeful at present did moderate the mind of his Brother; so they continued together (in the dark) that day, in their sad and doleful condition.

Well, towards evening the Giant goes down into the Dungeon again, to see if his Prisoners had taken his counsel; but when he came there, he found them alive, and truly, alive was all: for now, what for want of Bread and Water, and by reason of the Wounds they received when he beat them, they
 20 could do little but breathe. But, I say, he found them alive; at which he fell into a grievous rage, and told them, that seeing they had disobeyed his counsel, it should be worse with them than if they had never been born.

At this they trembled greatly, and I think that *Christian* fell into a Swoond; but coming a little to himself again, they renewed their discourse about the *Giant's* counsel; and whether yet they had best to take it or no. Now *Christian* again seemed to be for doing it, but *Hopeful* made his second reply as followeth. *Christian still dejected.*

30 HOPE. My Brother, said he, remembrest thou not how valiant thou hast been heretofore. Apollyon could not crush thee, nor could all that thou didst hear, or see, or feel in the Valley of the Shadow of Death. What hardship, terror, and amazement hast thou already gone through, and art thou now nothing but fear? Thou seest that I am in the Dungeon with thee, a far weaker man by nature than thou art: also this Giant has wounded me as well as thee, and hath also cut off the Bread and Water from my mouth; and with thee I mourn without the light: but let's exercise a little *Hopeful comforts him again, by calling former things to remembrance.*

more patience. Remember how thou playedst the man at Vanity Fair, and wast neither afraid of the Chain nor Cage; nor yet of bloody Death: wherefore let us (at least to avoid the shame, that becomes not a Christian to be found in) bear up with patience as well as we can.

Now night being come again, and the *Giant* and his Wife being in bed, she asked him concerning the Prisoners, and if they had taken his counsel: To which he replied, They are sturdy Rogues, they chuse rather to bear all hardship than to make away themselves. Then said she, Take them into 10 the Castle-yard to morrow, and show them the *Bones* and *Skulls* of those that thou hast already dispatch'd; and make them believe, e're a week comes to an end, thou also wilt tear them in pieces, as thou hast done their fellows before them.

So when the morning was come, the *Giant* goes to them again, and takes them into the Castle-yard, and shews them as his Wife had bidden him. These, said he, were Pilgrims as you are, once, and they trespassed in my grounds as you have done; and when I thought fit, I tore them in pieces; and so within ten days I will do you. Go get you down to 20 your Den again; and with that he beat them all the way thither. They lay therefore all day on *Saturday* in a lamentable case, as before. Now when night was come, and when Mrs. *Diffidence* and her Husband, the *Giant*, were got to bed, they began to renew their discourse of their Prisoners: and withal, the old *Giant* wondered, that he could neither by his blows, nor counsel, bring them to an end. And with that his Wife replied, I fear, said she, that they live in hope that some will come to relieve them, or that they have pick-locks about them; by the means of which they hope to escape. 30 And, sayest thou so, my dear? said the *Giant*, I will therefore search them in the morning.

Well, on *Saturday* about midnight they began to pray, and continued in Prayer till almost break of day.

A Key in
Christian's
bosom called
Promise,
opens any
Lock in
Doubting
Castle.

Now a little before it was day, good *Christian*, as one half amazed, brake out in this passionate Speech, *What a fool*, quoth he, *am I thus to lie in a stinking Dungeon, when I may as well walk at liberty! I have a Key in my bosom, called Promise,*

that will, I am persuaded, open any Lock in Doubting Castle. Then said *Hopeful*, That's good news; good Brother pluck it out of thy bosom and try.

Then *Christian* pulled it out of his bosom, and began to try at the Dungeon door, whose bolt (as he turned the Key) gave back, and the door flew open with ease, and *Christian* and *Hopeful* both came out. Then he went to the outward door that leads into the *Castle yard*, and with his *Key* opened the door also. After he went to the *Iron Gate*, for that must be
 10 opened too, but that Lock went *damnable* hard, yet the Key did open it; then they thrust open the Gate to make their escape with speed, but that Gate, as it opened, made such a creaking, that it waked *Giant Despair*, who hastily rising to pursue his Prisoners, felt his Limbs to fail, for his fits took him again, so that he could by no means go after them. Then they went on, and came to the King's high-way again, and so were safe, because they were out of his Jurisdiction.

Now when they were gone over the Stile, they began to contrive with themselves what they should do at that Stile,
 20 to prevent those that should come after, from falling into the hands of *Giant Despair*. So they consented to erect there A Pillar erected by Christian and his fellow. a Pillar, and to engrave upon the side thereof *Over this Stile is the Way to Doubting-Castle, which is kept by Giant Despair, who despiseth the King of the Cælestial Country, and seeks to destroy his holy Pilgrims.* Many therefore that followed after, read what was written, and escaped the danger. This done, they sang as follows.

*Out of the way we went, and then we found
 What 'twas to tread upon forbidden ground:
 30 And let them that come after have a care,
 Lest heedlessness makes them, as we, to fare:
 Lest they, for trespassing, his prisoners are,
 Whose Castle's Doubting, and whose name's Despair.*

They went then, till they came to the Delectable Moun- The delectable mountains. tains, which Mountains belong to the Lord of that Hill, of which we have spoken before; so they went up to the Moun- They are refreshed in the mountains. tains, to behold the Gardens and Orchards, the Vineyards,

Talk with
the Shep-
herds.

John 10. 11.

and Fountains of water; where also they drank, and washed themselves, and did freely eat of the Vincyards. Now there was on the tops of these Mountains Shepherds feeding their flocks, and they stood by the high-way side¹. The Pilgrims therefore went to them, and leaning upon their staves, (as is common with weary Pilgrims, when they stand to talk with any by the way,) they asked, *Whose delectable Mountains are these? and whose be the sheep that feed upon them?*

SHEP. These Mountains are *Immanuel's Land*, and they are within sight of his City, and the sheep also are his, and he laid down his life for them.

CHR. *Is this the way to the Cælestial City?*

SHEP. You are just in your way.

CHR. *How far is it thither?*

SHEP. Too far for any but those that *shall* get thither indeed.

CHR. *Is the way safe, or dangerous?*

110s. 14. 9.

SHEP. Safe for those for whom it is to be safe, *but transgressors shall fall therein.*

CHR. *Is there in this place any relief for Pilgrims that are weary and faint in the way?*

SHEP. The Lord of these Mountains hath given us a charge, *Not to be forgetful to entertain strangers*: Therefore the good of the place is even before you.

Heb. 13. 1. 2.

I saw also in my Dream, that when the Shepherds perceived that they were way-faring men, they also put questions to them, (to which they made answer as in other places,) as, *Whence came you?* and, *How got you into the way?* and, *By what means have you so persevered therein?* For but few of them that begin to come hither, do shew their face on these Mountains. But when the Shepherds heard their answers, being pleased therewith, they looked very lovingly upon them; and said, *Welcome to the delectable Mountains.*

The shep-
herds wel-
come them.
The Names
of the shep-
herds.

The Shepherds, I say, whose names were *Knowledge, Expe-*

¹ Mountains delectable they now ascend,
Where Shepherds be, which to them do commend
Alluring things, and things that cautious are,
Pilgrims are steady kept by faith and fear.

rience, Watchful, and Sincere, took them by the hand, and had them to their Tents, and made them partake of that which was ready at present. They said moreover, We would that you should stay here a while, to be acquainted with us, and yet more to solace yourselves with the good of these delectable Mountains. They told them, That they were content to stay; and so they went to their rest that night, because it was very late.

Then I saw in my Dream that in the morning the Shep-
 10 herds called up *Christian* and *Hopeful* to walk with them upon the Mountains. So they went forth with them, and walked a while, having a pleasant prospect on every side. Then said the Shepherds one to another, Shall we shew these Pilgrims some wonders? So when they had concluded to do it, they had them first to the top of an Hill called *Error*, which was very steep on the furthest side, and bid them look down to the bottom. So *Christian* and *Hopeful* lookt down, and saw at the bottom several men dashed all to pieces by a fall that they had from the top. Then said *Christian*, What meaneth
 20 this? The Shepherds answered; Have you not heard of them that were made to err, by hearkening to *Hymeneus* and *Philetus*, as concerning the Faith of the Resurrection of the Body? They answered, Yes. Then said the Shepherds, Those that you see lie dashed in pieces at the bottom of this Mountain, *are they*: and they have continued to this day unburied (as you see) for an example to others to take heed how they clamber too high, or how they come too near the brink of this Mountain.

They are shewn wonders.

The Mountain of Error.

2 Tim. 2. 17, 18.

Then I saw that they had them to the top of another
 30 Mountain, and the name of that is *Caution*; and bid them look afar off. Which when they did, they perceived as they thought, several men walking up and down among the Tombs that were there. And they perceived that the men were blind, because they stumbled sometimes upon the Tombs, and because they could not get out from among them. Then said *Christian*, *What means this?*

Mount Caution.

The Shepherds then answered, Did you not see a little below these Mountains a *Stile* that led into a Meadow on

the left hand of this way? They answered, Yes. Then said the Shepherds, From that Stile there goes a path that leads directly to *Doubting-Castle*, which is kept by *Giant Despair*; and these men (pointing to them among the Tombs) came once on Pilgrimage, as you do now, even till they came to that same *Stile*. And because the right way was rough in that place, they chose to go out of it into that Meadow, and there were taken by *Giant Despair*, and cast into *Doubting-Castle*; where, after they had a while been kept in the Dungeon, he at last did put out their eyes, and led them among those 10 Tombs, where he has left them to wander to this very day; that the saying of the wise Man might be fulfilled, *He that wandereth out of the way of understanding shall remain in the Congregation of the dead*. Then *Christian* and *Hopeful* looked one upon another, with tears gushing out; but yet said nothing to the Shepherds.

Prov. 21. 16.

A by-way
to Hell.

Then I saw in my Dream, that the Shepherds had them to another place, in a bottom, where was a door in the side of an Hill; and they opened the door, and bid them look in. They looked in therefore, and saw that within it was very 20 dark, and smoaky; they also thought that they heard there a rumbling noise as of fire, and a cry of some tormented, and that they smelt the scent of Brimstone. Then said *Christian*, *What means this?* The Shepherds told them, saying, this is a By-way to Hell, a way that Hypocrites go in at; namely, such as sell their Birth-right, with *Esau*: such as sell their Master, with *Judas*: such as blaspheme the Gospel, with *Alexander*: and that lie and dissemble, with *Ananias* and *Sapphira* his wife.

HOPE. Then said *Hopeful* to the Shepherds, *I perceive that 30 these had on them, even every one, a shew of Pilgrimage as we have now; had they not?*

SHEP. Yes, and held it a long time too.

HOPE. *How far might they go on Pilgrimage in their day, since they notwithstanding were thus miserably cast away?*

SHEP. Some further, and some not so far as these Mountains.

Then said the Pilgrims one to another, *We had need cry to the Strong for strength.*

SHEP. Ay, and you will have need to use it when you have it, too.

By this time the Pilgrims had a desire to go forwards, and the Shepherds a desire they should; so they walked together towards the end of the Mountains. Then said the Shepherds one to another, Let us here shew to the Pilgrims the Gates of the Cœlestial City, if they have skill to look through our Perspective Glass. The Pilgrims then lovingly accepted the motion: so they had them to the top of an high Hill, called
 10 *Clear*, and gave them their Glass to look. Then they essayed to look, but the remembrance of that last thing that the Shepherds had shewed them made their hand shake, by means of which impediment they could not look steadily through the Glass; yet they thought they saw something like the Gate, and also some of the Glory of the place.

The Shepherds Perspective-glass. The Hill Clear.

The fruit of slavish fear

*Thus by the Shepherds, Secrets are reveal'd,
 Which from all other men are kept conceal'd:
 Come to the Shepherds then, if you would see
 Things deep, things hid, and that mysterious be.*

20 When they were about to depart, one of the Shepherds gave them a *note of the way*, Another of them *bid them beware* of the flatterer, The third, *bid them take heed that they sleep not upon the Incharnted Ground*, and the fourth, *bid them God speed*. So I awoke from my Dream.

A two-fold caution.

And I slept, and dreamed again, and saw the same two Pilgrims going down the Mountains along the High-way towards the City. Now a little below these Mountains, on the left hand, lieth the Country of *Conceit*, from which Country there comes into the way in which the Pilgrims walked, a
 30 little crooked Lane. Here therefore they met with a very brisk Lad, that came out of that Country; and his name was *Ignorance*. So *Christian* asked him, *From what parts he came?* and *whither he was going?*

The Country of Conceit, out of which came Ignorance.

IGN. Sir, I was born in the Country that lieth off there, a little on the left hand; and I am going to the Cœlestial City.

A Christian and Ignorance hath some talk.

CHR. But how do you think to get in at the Gate, for you may find some difficulty there?

IGN. As other good People do, said he.

CHR. *But what have you to shew at that Gate, that may cause that the Gate should be opened to you?*

*The ground
of Ignorance's hope.*

IGN. I know my Lords will, and I have been a good liver, I pay every man his own; I Pray, Fast, pay Tithes, and give Alms, and have left my Country for whither I am going.

CHR. *But thou camest not in at the Wicket-gate, that is at the head of this way; thou camest in hither through that same crooked Lane; and therefore I fear, however thou mayest think of thyself, when the reckoning day shall come, thou wilt have laid to thy charge that thou art a Thief and a Robber, instead of getting admittance into the City.*

He saith to every one that he is a fool.

IGN. Gentlemen, ye be utter strangers to me, I know you not; be content to follow the Religion of your Country, and I will follow the Religion of mine. I hope all will be well. And as for the Gate that you talk of, all the World knows that that is a great way off of our Country. I cannot think that any man in all our parts doth so much as know the way to it; nor need they matter whether they do or no, since we have, as you see, a fine pleasant green Lane, that comes down from our Country the next way into it.

Pr. 26. 12.

Eccl. 10. 3.

*How to carry
it to a fool.*

When Christian saw that the man was wise in his own conceit, he said to Hopeful whisperingly, *There is more hopes of a fool than of him.* And said moreover *When he that is a fool walketh by the way, his wisdom faileth him, and he saith to every one that he is a fool.* What, shall we talk further with him? or out-go him at present? and so leave him to think of what he hath heard already; and then stop again for him afterwards, and see if by degrees we can do any good of him? Then said Hopeful:

30

*Let Ignorance a little while now muse
On what is said, and let him not refuse
Good Counsel to imbrace, lest he remain
Still Ignorant of what's the chiefest gain.
God saith, Those that no understanding have
(Although he made them) them he will not save.*

HOPE. He further added, It is not good, I think, to say all

to him at once, let us pass him by, if you will, and talk to him anon, *even as he is able to bear it.*

So they both went on, and Ignorance he came after. Now when they had passed him a little way, they entered into a very dark Lane, where they met a man whom seven Devils had bound with seven strong Cords, and were carrying of him back *to the door* that they saw in the side of the Hill. Now good *Christian* began to tremble, and so did *Hopeful* his Companion: yet as the Devils led away the man, *Christian* 10 looked to see if he knew him, and he thought it might be one *Turn-away* that dwelt in the *Town of Apostacy*. But he did not perfectly see his face, for he did hang his head like a Thief that is found. But being gone past, *Hopeful* looked after him, and espied on his back a Paper with this Inscription, *Wanton Professor, and damnable Apostate*. Then said *Christian* to his Fellow, Now I call to remembrance that which was told me of a thing that happened to a good man hereabout. The name of the man was *Little-Faith*, but a good man, and he dwelt in the *Town of Sincere*. The thing 20 was this; at the entering in of this passage there comes down from *Broad-way-gate* a Lane called *Dead-man's-lane*; so called, because of the Murders that are commonly done there. And this *Little-Faith* going on Pilgrimage, as we do now, chanced to sit down there and slept. Now there happened, at that time, to come down that *Lane* from *Broad-way-gate* three Sturdy Rogues, and their names were *Faint-heart*, *Mistrust*, and *Guilt*, (three brothers) and they espying *Little-Faith* where he was, came galloping up with speed. Now the good man was just awaked from his sleep, and was getting up 30 to go on his Journey. So they came all up to him, and with threatening Language bid him *stand*. At this, *Little faith* lookt as white as a Clout, and had neither power to fight nor fly. Then said *Faint-heart*, Deliver thy Purse; but he making no haste to do it, (for he was loth to lose his Money,) *Mistrust* ran up to him, and thrusting his hand into his Pocket, pull'd out thence a bag of Silver. Then he cried out, Thieves, thieves. With that, *Guilt* with a great Club that was in his hand, strook *Little-Faith* on the head, and

Matt. 12. 45.
Prov. 5. 22.

The destruction of our
Turn-away.

Christian telleth his
Companion a story of
Little-Faith.

Broad-way-gate.
Dead-man's Lane.

Little-Faith robbed by
Faint-heart, Mistrust,
and Guilt.

They got away his
Silver, and smote him
down.

with that blow fell'd him flat to the ground, where he lay bleeding as one that would bleed to death. All this while the Thieves stood by: but at last, they hearing that some were upon the Road, and fearing lest it should be one *Great-grace* that dwells in the City of *Good-confidence*, they betook themselves to their heels, and left this good man to shift for himself. Now after a while, *Little-faith* came to himself, and getting up, made shift to scabble on his way. This was the story.

HOPE. *But did they take from him all that ever he had?* 10

*Little-Faith
lost not his
best things.*

CHR. No: the place where his Jewels were, they never ransack'd, so those he kept still; but as, I was told, the good man was much afflicted for his loss. For the Thieves got most of his spending Money. That which they got not (as I said) were Jewels, also he had a little odd Money left, but scarce enough to bring him to his Journeys end; nay, (if I was not mis-informed) he was forced to beg as he went, to keep himself alive, (for his Jewels he might not sell.) But beg, and do what he could, *he went* (as we say) *with many a hungry belly*, the most part of the rest of the way. 20

1 Pet. 4. 18.
*Little-Faith
forced to beg
to his Jour-
neys end.*

HOPE. *But is it not a wonder they got not from him his Certificate, by which he was to receive his admittance at the Cælestial gate?*

*He kept not
his best
Things by
his own
Cunning.*
2 Tim. 1. 14.

CHR. 'Tis a wonder, but they got not that: though they mist it not through any good cunning of his, for he being dismayed with their coming upon him, had neither power nor skill to hide any thing: so 'twas more by good Providence than by his endeavour, that they mist of *that good thing*.

HOPE. *But it must needs be a comfort to him, that they got not this Jewel from him.*

2 Pet. 1. 9.

CHR. It might have been great comfort to him, had he used it as he should; but they that told me the story, said, That he made but little use of it all the rest of the way; and that because of the dismay that he had in their taking away of his Money: indeed he forgot it a great part of the rest of the Journey; and besides, when at any time, it came into his mind, and he began to be comforted therewith, then would

fresh thoughts of his loss come again upon him, and those thoughts would swallow up all.

HOPE. *Alas poor Man! this could not but be a great grief* He is pitted by both.
unto him.

CHR. Grief! Ay, a grief indeed, would it not have been so to any of us, had we been used as he, to be robbed and wounded too, and that in a strange place, as he was? 'Tis a wonder he did not die with grief, poor heart! I was told, that he scattered almost all the rest of the way with nothing
10 but doleful and bitter complaints. Telling also to all that over-took him, or that he over-took in the way as he went, where he was robbed, and how; who they were that did it, and what he lost; how he was wounded, and that he hardly escaped with life.

HOPE. *But 'tis a wonder that his necessities did not put him upon selling, or pawning some of his Jewels, that he might have wherewith to relieve himself in his Journey.*

CHR. Thou talkest like one upon whose head is the Shell Christian snubbed his fellow for unadvised speaking.
to this very day: For what should he *pawn* them? or to
20 whom should he sell them? In all that Country where he was Robbed, his Jewels were not accounted of, nor did he want that relief which could from thence be administred to him; besides, had his Jewels been missing at the Gate of the Cœlestial City, he had (and that he knew well enough) been excluded from an Inheritance there; and that would have been worse to him than the appearance and villany of ten thousand Thieves.

HOPE. *Why art thou so tart my Brother? Esau sold his* Heb. 12. 16.
Birth-right, and that for a mess of Pottage; and that Birth-
30 right was his greatest Jewel; and if he, why might not Little-Faith do so too?

CHR. *Esau* did sell his Birth-right indeed, and so do many A discourse about Esau and Little-Faith.
besides; and by so doing, exclude themselves from the chief blessing, as also that *Caitiff* did. But you must put a difference betwixt *Esau* and *Little-faith*, and also betwixt their Estates. *Esau's* Birth-right was typical, but *Little-faith's* Jewels were not so. *Esau's* belly was his God, but *Little-faith's* belly was not so. *Esau's* want lay in his fleshly Esau was ruled by his lust.

Gen. 25. 32. appetite, *Little-faith's* did not so. Besides, *Esau* could see no further than to the fulfilling of his Lusts, *For I am at the point to die*, said he, *and what good will this Birth-right do me?* But *Little-faith*, though it was his lot to have but a *little faith*, was by his *little faith* kept from such extravagances; and made to *see* and *prize* his Jewels more, than to sell them, as *Esau* did his Birth-right. You read not any where that *Esau* had *faith*, no not so much as a little. Therefore no marvel, if where the flesh only bears sway (as it will in that Man where *no faith* is to resist) if he sells his *Birtb-right*, and his 10 Soul and all, and that to the Devil of Hell; for it is with ?

Jer. 2. 24. such, as it is with the Ass, *Who in her occasions cannot be turned away*. When their minds are set upon their Lusts, they will have them whatever they cost. But *Little-faith* was of another temper, his mind was on things Divine; his livelihood was upon things that were Spiritual, and from above. Therefore to what end should he that is of such a temper sell his Jewels, (had there been any that would have bought them) to fill his mind with empty things? Will a man give a penny to fill his belly with hay? or can you perswade the *Turtle-dove* 20 to live upon Carrion, like the *Crow*? Though *faithless* ones, can for carnal Lusts, pawn, or mortgage, or sell what they have, and themselves outright to boot; yet they that have *faith*, *saving faith*, though but a *little* of it, cannot do so. Here therefore, my Brother, is thy mistake.

Esau never had faith.

Little-Faith could not live upon Esau's Portage.

A comparison between the Turtle-dove and the Crow.

HOPE. *I acknowledge it; but yet your severe reflection had almost made me angry.*

CHR. Why, I did but compare thee to some of the Birds that are of the brisker sort, who will run to and fro in trodden paths with the shell upon their heads: but pass by that, and 30 consider the matter under debate, and all shall be well betwixt thee and me.

HOPE. *But Christian, These three fellows, I am perswaded in my heart, are but a company of Cowards: would they have run else, think you, as they did, at the noise of one that was coming on the road? Why did not Little-faith pluck up a greater heart? He might, methinks, have stood one brush with them, and have yielded when there was no remedy.*

Hopeful swaggers.

CHR. That they are Cowards, many have said, but few have found it so in the time of Trial. As for a *great heart*, *Little-faith* had none; and I perceive by thee, my brother, hadst thou been the Man concerned, thou art but for a brush, and then to yield. And verily, since this is the height of thy Stomach now they are at a distance from us, should they appear to thee, as they did to him, they might put thee to second thoughts.

But consider again, they are but Journeymen-Thieves, they 10 serve under the King of the Bottomless pit; who, if need be, will come in to their aid himself, and his voice is *as the roaring of a Lion*. I myself have been engaged as this *Little-faith* was, and I found it a terrible thing. These three Villains set upon me, and I beginning like a *Christian* to resist, they gave but a call, and in came their Master. I would, as the saying is, have given my life for a penny; but that, as God would have it, I was clothed with Armour of proof. Ay, and yet though I was so harnessed, I found it hard work to quit myself like a man; no man can tell what in that Combat attends 20 us, but he that hath been in the Battle himself.

HOPE. *Well, but they ran, you see, when they did but suppose that one Great-grace was in the way.*

CHR. True, they have often fled, both they and their Master, when *Great-grace* hath but appeared, and no marvel, for he is *the King's Champion*. But I tro, you will put some difference between *Little-faith* and the *King's Champion*; all the King's Subjects are not his Champions: nor can they, when tried, do such feats of War as he. Is it meet to think that a little child should handle *Goliath* as *David* did? or that there should be 30 the strength of an *Ox* in a *Wren*? Some are strong, some are weak, some have *great faith*, some have *little*: this man was one of the weak, and therefore he went to the walls.

HOPE. *I would it had been Great-grace, for their sakes.*

CHR. If it had been he, he might have had his hands full. For I must tell you, That though *Great-grace* is excellent good at his Weapons, and has and can, so long as he keeps them at Sword's point, do well enough with them: yet if they get within him, even *Faint-heart*, *Mistrust*, or the other, it shall

go hard but they will throw up his heels. And when a man is down, you know what can he do.

Whoso looks well upon *Great-grace's* face, shall see those Scars and Cuts there, that shall easily give demonstration of what I say. Yea once I heard he should say, (and that when he was in the Combat) *We despaired even of life*: How did these sturdy Rogues and their Fellows make *David* groan, mourn, and roar? Yea, *Heman*, and *Hezekiab* too, though Champions in their day, were forced to bestir them, when by these assaulted; and yet, that notwithstanding, they had their 10 Coats soundly brushed by them. *Peter* upon a time would go try what he could do; but, though some do say of him that he is the Prince of the Apostles, they handled him so, that they made him at last afraid of a sorry Girl.

Job 41. 26.
Leviathan's
sturdiness.

Job 39. 19.
The excellent
mettle that is
in Job's
Horse.

Besides, their King is at their Whistle, he is never out of hearing; and if at any time they be put to the worst, he, if possible, comes in to help them. And of him it is said, *The Sword of him that layeth at him cannot hold the Spear, the Dart, nor the Habergeon. He esteemeth Iron as Straw, and Brass as rotten Wood. The Arrow cannot make him flie. Slingstones are 20 turned with him into stubble, Darts are counted as stubble, he laugheth at the shaking of a Spear.* What can a man do in this case? 'Tis true, if a man could at every turn have *Job's* Horse, and had skill and courage to ride him, he might do notable things. *For his neck is clothed with Thunder, he will not be afraid as the Grasshopper, the glory of his Nostrils is terrible, he paweth in the Valley, rejoyceth in his strength, and goeth out to meet the armed men. He mocketh at fear, and is not affrighted, neither turneth back from the Sword. The quiver rattleth against him, the glittering Spear, and the shield. He swalloweth the 30 ground with fierceness and rage, neither believeth he that it is the sound of the Trumpet. He saith among the Trumpets, Ha, ha; and he smelleth the Battel afar off, the thundring of the Captains, and the shoutings.*

But for such footmen as thee and I are, let us never desire to meet with an enemy, nor vaunt as if we could do better, when we hear of others that they have been foiled, nor be tickled at the thoughts of our own manhood, for such

commonly come by the worst when tried. Witness *Peter*, of whom I made mention before. He would swagger, Ay he would: He would, as his vain mind prompted him to say, do better, and stand more for his Master, than all men: But who so foiled, and run down by these *Villains*, as he?

When therefore we hear that such Robberies are done on the King's High-way, two things become us to do; first to go out Harnessed, and to be sure *to take a Shield with us*. For it was for want of that, that he that laid so lustily at *Leviathan* 10 could not make him yield. For indeed, if that be wanting, he fears us not at all. Therefore he that had skill, hath said, *Above all take the Shield of Faith, wherewith ye shall be able to* Eph. 6. 16. *quench all the fiery darts of the wicked.*

'Tis good also that we desire of the King a Convoy, yea that he will go with us himself. This made *David* rejoyce *'Tis good to have a Convoy.* when in the Valley of the Shadow of Death; and *Moses* was Ex. 33. 15. rather for dying where he stood, than to go one step without his God. O my Brother, if he will but go along with us, Ps. 3. 5, 6, what need we be afraid of ten thousands that shall set them- 7. 8. selves against us, but without him, *the proud helpers fall under* Ps. 27. 1, 2, 3. 10. 4. *the slain.* Job 9. 10.

I for my part have been in the fray before now, and though (through the goodness of him that is best) I am as you see alive: yet I cannot boast of my manhood. Glad shall I be, if I meet with no more such brunts, though I fear we are not got beyond all danger. However, since the Lion and the Bear hath not as yet devoured me, I hope God will also deliver us from the next uncircumcised *Philistine*.

30 *Poor Little-faith! Hast been among the Thieves?
Wast robb'd! Remember this, Who so believes
And gets more faith, shall then a Victor be
Over ten thousand, else scarce over three.*

So they went on, and *Ignorance* followed. They went then till they came at a place where they saw a way put itself into their way, and seemed withal to lie as straight as the way which they should go; and here they knew not which of 10 a way and a way. the two to take, for both seemed straight before them; there-

fore here they stood still to consider. And as they were thinking about the way, behold a man black of flesh, but covered with a very light Robe, came to them and asked them, Why they stood there? They answered, They were going to the Cœlestial City, but knew not which of these ways to take. Follow me, said the man, it is thither that I am going. So they followed him in the way that but now came into the road, which by degrees turned, and turned them so from the City that they desired to go to, that in little time their faces were turned away from it; yet they followed him. But by and by, before they were aware, he led them both within the compass of a Net, in which they were both so entangled that they knew not what to do; and with that, the white robe fell off the black man's back; then they saw where they were. Wherefore there they lay crying sometime, for they could not get themselves out.

*The flatterer
finds them.*

*Christian
and his fel-
low deluded.*

*They are
taken in
a Net.*

*They bewail
their condi-
tions.*

Prov. 29. 5.

1's. 17. 4.

*A shining
one comes to
them with a
whip in his
hand.*

*Prov. 29. 5.
Dan. 11. 32.
2 Cor. 11. 23.
14.*

CHR. Then said *Christian* to his fellow, Now do I see my self in an error. Did not the Shepherds bid us beware of the flatterers? As is the saying of the Wise man, so we have found it this day: *A man that flattereth his Neighbour, spreadeth a Net for his feet.*

HOPE. They also gave us a note of directions about the way, for our more sure finding thereof: but therein we have also forgotten to read, and have not kept ourselves from the Paths of the destroyer. Here *David* was wiser than we; for saith he, *Concerning the works of men, by the word of thy lips, I have kept me from the Paths of the destroyer.* Thus they lay bewailing themselves in the Net. At last they espied a shining One coming towards them, with a whip of small cord in his hand. When he was come to the place where they were, He asked them whence they came? and what they did there? They told him, That they were poor Pilgrims going to *Sion*, but were led out of their way, by a black man, cloathed in white, who bid us, said they, follow him; for he was going thither too. Then said he with the Whip, it is *Flatterer*, a false Apostle, that hath transformed himself into an Angel of light. So he rent the Net, and let the men out. Then said he to them, Follow me, that I may set you in your

way again; so he led them back to the way, which they had left to follow the *Flatterer*. Then he asked them, saying, *They are examined and convicted of forgetfulness.* Where did you lie the last night? They said, with the Shepherds upon the delectable Mountains. He asked them then, If they had not of them Shepherds *a note of direction for the way?* They answered, Yes. But did you, said he, when you was at a stand, pluck out and read your note? They answered, No. He asked them why? They said they forgot. He asked, moreover, If the Shepherds did not bid them
 10 beware of the *Flatterer*? They answered, Yes; But we did *Deceivers fine spoken.* not imagine, said they, that this fine-spoken man had been he. *Rom. 16. 18.*
 Then I saw in my Dream, that he commanded them to *lie* *Deut. 25. 2.* *2 Chron. 6. 26, 27.* down; which when they did, he chastised them sore, to teach them the good way wherein they should walk; and as he chastised them, he said, *As many as I love, I rebuke and chasten;* *Rev. 3. 19.* *be zealous therefore, and repent.* This done, he bids them go *They are whipt, and sent on their way.* on their way, and take good heed to the other directions of the Shepherds. So they thanked him for all his kindness, and went softly along the right way.

20 *Come hither, you that walk along the way;
 See how the Pilgrims fare, that go astray!
 They caught are in an intangling Net,
 'Cause they good Counsel lightly did forget:
 'Tis true, they rescu'd were, but yet you see
 They're scourg'd to boot: Let this your caution be.*

Now after a while, they perceived afar off, one coming softly and alone, all along the High-way to meet them. Then said *Christian* to his fellow, Yonder is a man with his back toward *Sion*, and he is coming to meet us.

30 HOPE. I see him, let us take heed to ourselves now, lest he should prove a *Flatterer* also. So he drew nearer and nearer, and at last came up unto them. His name was *Atheist*, *The Atheist meets them.* and he asked them whither they were going?

CHR. *We are going to the Mount Sion.*

Then *Atheist* fell into a very great Laughter.

CHR. *What is the meaning of your Laughter?*

He Laughs at them.

ATHEIST. I laugh to see what ignorant persons you are, to

take upon you so tedious a Journey; and yet are like to have nothing but your travel for your pains.

They reason together.

CHR. *Why man? Do you think we shall not be received?*

ATHEIST. Received! There is no such place as you Dream of, in all this World.

CHR. *But there is in the World to come.*

Jer. 29. 17.
Eccles. 10.
15.

ATHEIST. When I was at home in mine own Country I heard as you now affirm, and, from that hearing went out to see, and have been seeking this City this twenty years: but find no more of it, than I did the first day I set out. 10

CHR. *We have both heard and believe that there is such a place to be found.*

The Atheist takes up his content in this World.

ATHEIST. Had not I, when at home, believed, I had not come thus far to seek. But finding none, (and yet I should, had there been such a place to be found, for I have gone to seek it further than you) I am going back again, and will seek to refresh myself with the things that I then cast away, for hopes of that which I now see is not.

Christian greets his Brother.

Hopeful's gracious answer.
2 Cor. 5. 7.

CHR. Then said *Christian to Hopeful*, his Fellow, *Is it true which this man hath said?* 20

HOPE. Take heed, he is one of the *Flatterers*; remember what it hath cost us once already for our harkning to such kind of Fellows. What! no Mount *Sion*! Did we not see from the delectable Mountains the Gate of the City? Also, are we not now to walk by Faith? Let us go on, said *Hopeful*, lest the man with the Whip overtakes us again.

A remembrance of former chastisements is an help against present temptations.
Prov. 19. 27.
Heb. 10. 39.

You should have taught me that Lesson, which I will round you in the ears withal; *Cease, my son, to hear the Instruction that causeth to err from the words of knowledge.* I say, my Brother, cease to hear him, and let us believe to the saving of 30 the Soul.

A fruit of an honest heart.

1 John 2. 21.

CHR. *My Brother, I did not put the question to thee, for that I doubted of the truth of our belief myself: but to prove thee, and to fetch from thee a fruit of the honesty of thy heart. As for this man, I know that he is blinded by the god of this World: Let thee and I go on, knowing that we have belief of the Truth, and no lie is of the Truth.*

HOPE. Now do I rejoyce in the hope of the Glory of God:

So they turned away from the man; and he, laughing at them, went his way.

I saw then in my Dream, that they went till they came into a certain Country, whose Air naturally tended to make one drowsy, if he came a stranger into it. And here *Hopeful* began to be very dull and heavy of sleep, wherefore he said unto *Christian*, I do now begin to grow so drowsy that I can scarcely hold up mine eyes; let us lie down here and take one Nap.

10 CHR. *By no means*, said the other, *lest sleeping, we never awake more.* Christian keeps him awake.

HOPE. Why my Brother? sleep is sweet to the Labouring man; we may be refreshed if we take a Nap.

CHR. *Do you not remember that one of the Shepherds bid us beware of the Incanted ground? He meant by that, that we should beware of sleeping; wherefore let us not sleep as do others,* 1 Thes. 5. 6. *but let us watch and be sober.*

HOPE. I acknowledge myself in a fault, and had I been here alone, I had by sleeping run the danger of death. I see
20 it is true that the wise man saith, *Two are better than one.* Eccles. 4. 9. *Hitherto hath thy Company been my mercy; and thou shalt have a good reward for thy labour.*

CHR. *Now then*, said *Christian*, *to prevent drowsiness in this place, let us fall into good discourse.* To prevent drowsiness they fall to good discourse.

HOPE. With all my heart, said the other.

CHR. *Where shall we begin?* Good discourse prevents drowsiness.

HOPE. Where God began with us. But do you begin, if you please.

30 *When Saints do sleepy grow, let them come hither,
And hear how these two Pilgrims talk together:
Yea, let them learn of them, in any wise,
Thus to keep ope their drowsy slumb'ring eyes.
Saints' fellowship, if it be manag'd well,
Keeps them awake, and that in spite of hell.* The Dreamer's note.

CHR. Then *Christian* began and said, *I will ask you a question. How came you to think at first of doing as you do now?* They begin at the beginning of their conversation.

HOPE. Do you mean, How came I at first to look after the good of my Soul?

CHR. *Yes, that is my meaning.*

HOPE. I continued a great while in the delight of those things which were seen and sold at our *fair*; things which, as I believe now, would have (had I continued in them still) drowned me in perdition and destruction.

CHR. *What things were they?*

Hopeful's
life before
conversion.

HOPE. All the Treasures and Riches of the World. Also I delighted much in Rioting, Revelling, Drinking, Swearing, Lying, Uncleaness, Sabbath-breaking, and what not, that tended to destroy the Soul. But I found at last, by hearing 10 and considering of things that are Divine, which indeed I heard of you, as also of beloved *Faithful*, that was put to death for his Faith and good-living in *Vanity-fair*, *That the end of these things is death.* And that for these things' sake, the wrath of God cometh upon the children of disobedience.

Rom. 6. 21.
22, 23.
Eph. 5. 6.

CHR. *And did you presently fall under the power of this conviction?*

Hopeful at
first shuts
his eyes
against the
light.

HOPE. No, I was not willing presently to know the evil of sin, nor the damnation that follows upon the commission of it, but endeavoured, when my mind at first began to be shaken 20 with the word, to shut mine eyes against the light thereof.

CHR. *But what was the cause of your carrying of it thus to the first workings of God's blessed Spirit upon you?*

Reasons of
his resisting
of light.

HOPE. The causes were, 1. I was ignorant that this was the work of God upon me. I never thought that, by awakenings for sin, God at first begins the conversion of a sinner. 2. Sin was yet very sweet to my flesh, and I was loth to leave it. 3. I could not tell how to part with mine old Companions; their presence and actions were so desirable unto me. 4. The hours in which convictions were upon me, were 30 such troublesome and such heart-affrighting hours, that I could not bear, no not so much as the remembrance of them upon my heart.

CHR. *Then as it seems, sometimes you got rid of your trouble.*

HOPE. Yes verily, but it would come into my mind again, and then I should be as bad, nay worse, than I was before.

CHR. *Why, what was it that brought your sins to mind again.*

HOPE. Many things, as,

1. If I did but meet a good man in the Streets; or,
2. If I have heard any read in the Bible; or,
3. If mine Head did begin to Ake; or,
4. If I were told that some of my Neighbors were sick; or,

*When he
had lost his
sense of sin,
what
brought it
again.*

or,

5. If I heard the Bell toll for some that were dead; or,
6. If I thought of dying myself; or,
7. If I heard that sudden death happened to others.
8. But especially, when I thought of myself, that I must
10 quickly come to Judgment.

CHR. *And could you at any time with ease get off the guilt of sin, when by any of these ways it came upon you?*

HOPE. No, not latterly, for then they got faster hold of my Conscience. And then, if I did but think of going back to sin (though my mind was turned against it) it would be double torment to me.

CHR. *And how did you do then?*

HOPE. I thought I must endeavour to mend my life, for
else thought I, I am sure to be damned.

20 CHR. *And did you endeavour to mend?*

HOPE. Yes, and fled from, not only my sins, but sinful
Company too; and betook me to Religious Duties, as Praying, Reading, weeping for Sin, speaking Truth to my Neighbors, etc. These things I did, with many others, too much
here to relate.

*When he
could no
longer shake
off his guilt
by sinful
courses, then
he endeavours to
mend*

CHR. *And did you think yourself well then?*

HOPE. Yes, for a while; but at the last my trouble came
tumbling upon me again, and that over the neck of all my
Reformations.

*Then he
thought
himself
well.*

30 CHR. *How came that about, since you was now Reformed?*

HOPE. There were several things brought it upon me, especially such sayings as these; *All our righteousnesses are as filthy rags. By the works of the Law no man shall be justified. When you have done all things, say, we are unprofitable:* with many more the like. From whence I began to reason with myself thus: If *all* my righteousnesses are filthy rags, if by the deeds of the Law, *no* man can be justified; And if, when we have done *all*, we are yet unprofitable: Then 'tis but a folly

*Reformation at last
could not
help, and
why.
Isa. 64. 6.
Gala. 2. 16.
Luk. 17. 10.*

His being a debtor by the Law troubled him.

to think of Heaven by the Law. I further thought thus: If a Man runs an rool. into the Shop-keeper's debt, and after that shall pay for all that he shall fetch; yet his old debt stands still in the Book uncrossed, for the which the Shop-keeper may sue him, and cast him into Prison till he shall pay the debt.

CHR. *Well, and how did you apply this to yourself?*

HOPE. Why, I thought thus with myself: I have by my sins run a great way into God's Book, and that my now reforming will not pay off that score; therefore I should think still under all my present amendments, But how shall I be freed from that damnation that I have brought myself in danger of by my former transgressions?

CHR. *A very good application: but pray go on.*

His espying bad things in his best duties, troubled him.

HOPE. Another thing that hath troubled me, even since my late amendments, is, that if I look narrowly into the best of what I do now, I still see sin, new sin, mixing itself with the best of that I do. So that now I am forced to conclude, that notwithstanding my former fond conceits of myself and duties, I have committed sin enough in one duty to send me to Hell, though my former life had been faultless.

20

CHR. *And what did you do then?*

This made him break his mind to Faithful, who told him the way to be saved.

HOPE. Do! I could not tell what to do, till I brake my mind to *Faithful*; for he and I were well acquainted: And he told me, That unless I could obtain the righteousness of a man that never had sinned, neither mine own, nor all the righteousness of the World could save me.

CHR. *And did you think he spake true?*

HOPE. Had he told me so when I was pleased and satisfied with mine own amendments, I had called him Fool for his pains: but now, since I see my own infirmity, and the sin that cleaves to my best performance, I have been forced to be of his opinion.

CHR. *But did you think, when at first he suggested it to you, that there was such a man to be found, of whom it might justly be said, That he never committed sin?*

At which he started at present.

HOPE. I must confess the words at first sounded strangely, but after a little more talk and company with him, I had full conviction about it.

CHR. *And did you ask him what man this was, and how you must be justified by him?*

HOPE. Yes, and he told me it was the Lord Jesus, that dwelleth on the right hand of the most High: and thus, said he, you must be justified by him, even by trusting to what he hath done by himself in the days of his flesh, and suffered when he did hang on the Tree. I asked him further, How that man's righteousness could be of that efficacy, to justify another before God? And he told me, He was the mighty
 10 God, and did what he did, and died the death also, not for himself, but for me; to whom his doings, and the worthiness of them should be imputed, if I believed on him.

CHR. *And what did you do then?*

HOPE. I made my objections against my believing, for that I thought he was not willing to save me.

CHR. *And what said Faithful to you then?*

HOPE. He bid me go to him and see. Then I said, It was presumption: but he said, No; for I was invited to come. Then he gave me a Book of *Jesus* his inditing, to encourage
 20 me the more freely to come. And he said concerning that Book, That every jot and tittle thereof stood firmer than Heaven and earth. Then I asked him, What I must do when I came? and he told me, I must entreat upon my knees, with all my heart and soul, the Father to reveal him to me. Then I asked him further, How I must make my supplication to him? And he said, Go, and thou shalt find him upon a mercy-seat, where he sits all the year long, to give pardon and forgiveness to them that come. I told him that I knew not what to say when I came: and he bid me say to
 30 this effect, *God be merciful to me a sinner, and make me to know and believe in Jesus Christ; for I see that if his righteousness had not been, or I have not faith in that righteousness, I am utterly cast away. Lord, I have heard that thou art a merciful God, and hast ordained that thy Son Jesus Christ should be the Saviour of the World; and moreover, that thou art willing to bestow him upon such a poor sinner as I am, (and I am a sinner indeed) Lord take therefore this opportunity, and magnify thy grace in the Salvation of my soul, through thy Son Jesus Christ, Amen.*

CHR. *And did you do as you were bidden?*

He prays.

HOPE. Yes; over, and over, and over.

CHR. *And did the Father reveal his Son to you?*

HOPE. Not at the first, nor second, nor third, nor fourth, nor fifth, no, nor at the sixth time neither.

CHR. *What did you do then?*

HOPE. What! why I could not tell what to do.

CHR. *Had you not thoughts of leaving off praying?*

*He thought
to leave off
praying.*

HOPE. Yes, an hundred times, twice told.

*He durst not
leave off
praying,
and why.*

CHR. *And what was the reason you did not?*

10

HOPE. I believed that that was true which had been told me; to wit, That without the righteousness of this Christ, all the World could not save me: and therefore thought I with myself, If I leave off, I die; and I can but die at the throne of Grace. And withal, this came into my mind, *If it tarry, wait for it, because it will surely come, and will not tarry.* So I continued praying until the Father shewed me his Son.

Habb. u. 3.

CHR. *And how was he revealed unto you?*

Eph. i. 18, 19.

*Christ is
revealed to
him, and
how.*

HOPE. I did not see him with my bodily eyes, but with the eyes of mine understanding; and thus it was. One day I was very sad, I think sadder than at any one time in my life; and this sadness was through a fresh sight of the greatness and vileness of my sins. And as I was then looking for nothing but Hell, and the everlasting damnation of my Soul, suddenly, as I thought, I saw the Lord Jesus look down from Heaven upon me, and saying, *Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved.*

Acts 16. 30.
31.

But I replied, Lord, I am a great, a very great sinner; and he answered, *My grace is sufficient for thee.* Then I said, But Lord, what is believing? And then I saw from that saying, 30

2 Cor. 12. 9.

John 6. 35.

[*He that cometh to me shall never hunger, and he that believeth on me shall never thirst*] that believing and coming was all one; and that he that came, that is, ran out in his heart and affections after salvation by Christ, he indeed believed in Christ. Then the water stood in mine eyes, and I asked further, But Lord, may such a great sinner as I am, be indeed accepted of thee, and be saved by thee? And I heard him say, *And him that cometh to me, I will in no wise cast out.*

John 6. 37.

Then I said, But how, Lord, must I consider of thee in my coming to thee, that my faith may be placed aright upon thee?

Then he said, *Christ Jesus came into the World to save sinners.* 1 Tim. 1. 15

He is the end of the Law for righteousness to every one that believes. Rom. 10. 4

He died for our sins, and rose again for our justification. chap. 4. 25

He loved us, and washed us from our sins in his own blood. Rev. 1. 5

He is Mediator between God and us. He ever liveth to make inter- Heb. 7. 24,

cession for us. 25 From all which I gathered that I must look for

righteousness in his person, and for satisfaction for my sins by his

10 blood; that what he did in obedience to his Father's Law, and

in submitting to the penalty thereof, was not for himself, but

for him that will accept it for his Salvation, and be thankful.

And now was my heart full of joy, mine eyes full of tears,

and mine affections running over with love to the Name,

People, and Ways of Jesus Christ.

CHR. *This was a Revelation of Christ to your soul indeed.*

But tell me particularly what effect this had upon your spirit.

HOPE. It made me see that all the World, notwithstanding

all the righteousness thereof, is in a state of condemnation:

20 It made me see that God the Father, though he be just, can

justly justify the coming sinner. It made me greatly ashamed

of the vileness of my former life, and confounded me with the

sense of mine own Ignorance; for there never came thought

into mine heart before now that shewed me so the beauty of

Jesus Christ. It made me love a holy life, and long to do

something for the Honour and Glory of the name of the

Lord Jesus. Yea I thought, that had I now a thousand

gallons of blood in my body, I could spill it all for the sake

of the Lord Jesus.

30 I then saw in my Dream, that *Hopeful* looked back and saw

Ignorance, whom they had left behind, coming after. *Look,*

said he to *Christian*, *how far yonder Youngster lieth behind.* •

CHR. Ay, Ay, I see him; he careth not for our Company.

HOPE. *But I tro, it would not have hurt him, had he kept*
pace with us hitherto.

CHR. That's true, but I warrant you he thinketh otherwise.

HOPE. *That I think he doth, but however let us tarry for him.*

So they did.

Young
Ignorance
comes up
against.

Their talk. Then *Christian* said to him, *Come away man; why do you stay so behind?*

IGN. I take my pleasure in walking alone, even more a great deal than in Company, unless I like it the better.

Then said *Christian* to *Hopeful* (but softly) *Did I not tell you, be cared not for our Company. But however, come up, and let us talk away the time in this solitary place.* Then directing his Speech to *Ignorance*, he said, *Come, how do you? how stands it between God and your Soul now?*

Ignorance's hope, and the ground of it. IGN. I hope well, for I am always full of good motions 10 that come into my mind to comfort me as I walk.

CHR. *What good motions? pray tell us.*

IGN. Why, I think of God and Heaven.

CHR. *So do the Devils and damned Souls.*

IGN. But I think of them, and desire them.

Prov. 13. 4. CHR. *So do many that are never like to come there:* The Soul of the Sluggard desires and hath nothing.

IGN. But I think of them, and leave all for them.

CHR. *That I doubt; for leaving of all is an hard matter, yea a harder matter then many are aware of. But why, or by what, 20 art thou perswaded that thou hast left all for God and Heaven?*

IGN. My heart tells me so.

Prov. 28. 26. CHR. *The wise man says, He that trusts his own heart is a fool.*

IGN. This is spoken of an evil heart, but mine is a good one.

CHR. *But how dost thou prove that?*

IGN. It comforts me in hopes of Heaven.

CHR. *That may be through its deceitfulness; for a mans heart may minister comfort to him in the hopes of that thing for which 30 be yet has no ground to hope.*

IGN. But my heart and life agree together, and therefore my hope is well grounded.

CHR. *Who told thee that thy heart and life agree together?*

IGN. My heart tells me so.

CHR. *Ask my Fellow if I be a Thief. Thy heart tells thee so! Except the word of God beareth witness in this matter, other Testimony is of no value.*

IGN. But is it not a good heart that has good thoughts? And is not that a good life that is according to God's Commandments?

CHR. *Yes, that is a good heart that hath good thoughts, and that is a good life that is according to God's Commandments. But it is one thing indeed to have these, and another thing only to think so.*

IGN. Pray what count you good thoughts, and a life according to God's Commandments?

10 CHR. *There are good thoughts of divers kinds, some respecting ourselves, some God, some Christ, and some other things.*

IGN. What be good thoughts respecting ourselves?

CHR. *Such as agree with the Word of God.*

*What are
good
thoughts.*

IGN. When does our thoughts of ourselves agree with the Word of God?

CHR. *When we pass the same Judgment upon ourselves which the Word passes. To explain myself; the Word of God saith of persons in a natural condition, There is none Righteous, there is none that doth good. It saith also, That every imagination* Rom. 3. 10.
Gen. 6. 5.
20 *of the heart of man is only evil, and that continually. And again, The imagination of man's heart is evil from his Youth. Now then, when we think thus of ourselves, having sense thereof, then are our thoughts good ones, because according to the Word of God.*

IGN. I will never believe that my heart is thus bad.

CHR. *Therefore thou never badst one good thought concerning thyself in thy life. But let me go on: As the Word passeth a Judgment upon our HEART, so it passeth a Judgment upon our WAYS; and when our thoughts of our HEARTS and WAYS agree with the Judgment which the Word giveth of both, then are*
30 *both good, because agreeing thereto.*

IGN. Make out your meaning.

CHR. *Why, the Word of God saith, That man's ways are crooked ways, not good, but perverse. It saith, They are naturally out of the good way, that they have not known it. Now when a man thus thinketh of his ways, I say when he doth sensibly, and with heart-humiliation thus think, then hath he good thoughts of his own ways, because his thoughts now agree with the judgment of the Word of God.* Ps. 125. 5.
Prov. 2. 15.
Rom. 3. 12.

IGN. What are good thoughts concerning God?

CHR. *Even (as I have said concerning ourselves) when our thoughts of God do agree with what the Word saith of him. And that is, when we think of his Being and Attributes as the Word hath taught: of which I cannot now discourse at large. But to speak of him with reference to us, then we have right thoughts of God, when we think that he knows us better than we know ourselves, and can see sin in us, when and where we can see none in ourselves; when we think he knows our inmost thoughts, and that our heart with all its depths is always open unto his eyes. 10 Also when we think that all our Righteousness stinks in his Nostrils, and that therefore he cannot abide to see us stand before him in any confidence even of all our best performances.*

IGN. Do you think that I am such a fool, as to think God can see no further than I? or that I would come to God in the best of my performances?

CHR. *Why, how dost thou think in this matter?*

IGN. Why, to be short, I think I must believe in Christ for Justification.

CHR. *How! think thou must believe in Christ, when thou 20 seest not thy need of him! Thou neither seest thy original, or actual infirmities, but hast such an opinion of thyself, and of what thou doest, as plainly renders thee to be one that did never see a necessity of Christ's personal righteousness to justify thee before God: How then dost thou say, I believe in Christ?*

IGN. I believe well enough for all that.

CHR. *How dost thou believe?*

The Faith of Ignorance.

IGN. I believe that Christ died for sinners, and that I shall be justified before God from the curse, through his gracious acceptance of my obedience to his Law. Or thus, Christ 30 makes my Duties that are Religious acceptable to his Father by virtue of his Merits; and so shall I be justified.

CHR. *Let me give an answer to this confession of thy faith.*

1. *Thou believest with a Fantastical Faith, for this faith is nowhere described in the Word.*

2. *Thou believest with a False Faith, because it taketh Justification from the personal righteousness of Christ, and applies it to thy own.*

3. *This faith maketh not Christ a Justifier of thy person, but of thy actions; and of thy person for thy actions' sake, which is false.*

4. *Therefore this faith is deceitful, even such as will leave thee under wrath, in the day of God Almighty. For true Justifying Faith puts the soul (as sensible of its lost condition by the Law) upon flying for refuge unto Christ's righteousness: (Which righteousness of his, is not an act of grace, by which he maketh for Justification thy obedience accepted with God, but his personal obedience to the Law in doing and suffering for us, what that required at our hands.) This righteousness, I say, true faith accepteth, under the skirt of which, the soul being shrouded, and by it presented as spotless before God, it is accepted, and acquit from condemnation.*

IGN. What! would you have us trust to what Christ in his own person has done without us! This conceit would loosen the reins of our lust, and tolerate us to live as we list. For what matter how we live, if we may be justified by Christ's personal righteousness from all, when we believe it?

20 CHR. Ignorance is thy name, and as thy name is, so art thou; even this thy answer demonstrateth what I say. Ignorant thou art of what Justifying righteousness is, and as ignorant how to secure thy Soul through the faith of it, from the heavy wrath of God. Yea, thou also art ignorant of the true effects of saving faith in this righteousness of Christ, which is, to bow and win over the heart to God in Christ, to love his Name, his Word, Ways, and People; and not as thou ignorantly imaginest.

HOPE. Ask him if ever he had Christ revealed to him from Heaven?

30 IGN. *What! You are a man for revelations! I believe that* Ignorance jangles with what both you, and all the rest of you say about that matter, is them. *but the fruit of distracted brains.*

HOPE. Why man! Christ is so hid in God from the natural apprehensions of all flesh, that he cannot by any man be savingly known, unless God the Father reveals him to them.

IGN. *That is your faith, but not mine; yet mine I doubt not,* He speaks reproachfully of what he knows not. *is as good as yours: though I have not in my head so many whimsies as you.*

CHR. Give me leave to put in a word: You ought not so slightly to speak of this matter: for this I will boldly affirm, (even as my good companion hath done) that no man can know Jesus Christ but by the Revelation of the Father: yea, and faith too, by which the soul layeth hold upon Christ (if it be right) must be wrought by the exceeding greatness of his mighty power; the working of which faith, I perceive, poor Ignorance, thou art ignorant of. Be awakened then, see thine own wretchedness, and fly to the Lord Jesus; and by his righteousness, which is the righteousness of God, (for he is himself is God) thou shalt be delivered from condemnation.

The talk broke up.

IGN. *You go so fast, I cannot keep pace with you; do you go on before, I must stay awhile behind.*

Then they said,

*Well Ignorance, wilt thou yet foolish be
To slight good Counsel, ten times given thee?
And if thou yet refuse it, thou shalt know
Ere long the evil of thy doing so.
Remember man in time, stoop, do not fear,
Good Counsel taken well, saves; therefore hear.
But if thou yet shalt slight it, thou wilt be
The loser (Ignorance) I'll warrant thee.*

20

Then Christian addressed thus himself to his fellow.

CHR. Well, come my good *Hopeful*, I perceive that thou and I must walk by ourselves again.

So I saw in my Dream, that they went on apace before, and Ignorance he came hobbling after. Then said Christian to his companion, *It pities me much for this poor man, it will certainly go ill with him at last.*

HOPE. Alas, there are abundance in our Town in his condition; whole Families, yea, whole Streets, (and that of Pilgrims too) and if there be so many in our parts, how many think you, must there be in the place where he was born?

CHR. *Indeed the Word saith, He hath blinded their eyes, lest they should see, &c. But now we are by ourselves, what do you think of such men? Have they at no time, think you, convictions of sin, and so consequently fears that their state is dangerous?*

HOPE. Nay, do you answer that question yourself, for you are the elder man.

CHR. *Then I say sometimes (as I think) they may, but they being naturally ignorant, understand not that such convictions tend to their good; and therefore they do desperately seek to stifle them, and presumptuously continue to flatter themselves in the way of their own hearts.*

HOPE. I do believe as you say, that fear tends much to Men's good and to make them right, at their beginning to go
10 on Pilgrimage.

CHR. *Without all doubt it doth, if it be right: for so says the* Job 28. 28.
Ps. 111. 10.
Prov. 1. 7.
ch. 9. 10.
word, The fear of the Lord is the beginning of Wisdom.

HOPE. How will you describe right fear?

CHR. *True, or right fear, is discovered by three things.* Right fear.

1. By its rise. It is caused by saving convictions for sin.
2. It driveth the soul to lay fast hold of Christ for Salvation.

3. It begetteth and continueth in the soul a great reverence of God, his word, and ways, keeping it tender, and making it
20 afraid to turn from them, to the right hand, or to the left, to anything that may dishonour God, break its peace, grieve the Spirit, or cause the Enemy to speak reproachfully.

HOPE. Well said, I believe you have said the truth. Are we now almost got past the enchanted ground?

CHR. *Why, are you weary of this discourse?*

HOPE. No verily, but that I would know where we are.

CHR. *We have not now above two miles further to go thereon. But let us return to our matter. Now the Ignorant know not* Why ignorant persons
that such convictions that tend to put them in fear, are for their stifle convictions.
30 *good, and therefore they seek to stifle them.* 1. In general.

HOPE. How do they seek to stifle them?

CHR. 1. They think that those fears are wrought by the Devil (though indeed they are wrought of God) and thinking so, they resist them, as things that directly tend to their overthrow. 2. They also think that these fears tend to the spoiling of their faith, (when alas for them, poor men that they are! they have none at all) and therefore they harden their hearts against them. 3. They presume they ought
2. In particular.

not to fear, and therefore, in despite of them, wax presumptuously confident. 4. They see that these fears tend to take away from them their pitiful old self-holiness, and therefore they resist them with all their might.

HOPE. I know something of this myself; for before I knew myself it was so with me.

CHR. *Well, we will leave at this time our Neighbor Ignorance by himself, and fall upon another profitable question.*

HOPE. With all my heart, but you shall still begin.

*Talk about
one Temporary.*

CHR. *Well then, did you not know about ten years ago, one 10
Temporary in your parts, who was a forward man in Religion then?*

*It here he
dwelt.*

HOPE. Know him! Yes, he dwelt in *Graceless*, a Town about two miles off of *Honesty*, and he dwelt next door to one *Turn-back*.

*He was
towardly
once.*

CHR. *Right, he dwelt under the same roof with him. Well, that man was much awakened once; I believe that then he had some sight of his sins, and of the wages that was due thereto.*

HOPE. I am of your mind, for (my House not being above three miles from him) he would oftentimes come to me, and 20 that with many tears. Truly I pitied the man, and was not altogether without hope of him; but one may see it is not every one that cries, *Lord, Lord*.

CHR. *He told me once, That he was resolved to go on Pilgrimage as we go now; but all of a sudden he grew acquainted with one Save-self, and then he became a stranger to me.*

HOPE. Now since we are talking about him, let us a little enquire into the reason of the sudden backsliding of him and such others.

CHR. *It may be very profitable, but do you begin.*

30

HOPE. Well then, there are in my judgment four reasons for it.

*Reasons
why forward-
ly ones
go back.*

1. Though the Consciences of such men are awakened, yet their minds are not changed: therefore when the power of guilt weareth away, that which provoked them to be Religious ceaseth. Wherefore they naturally turn to their own course again: even as we see the Dog that is sick of what he hath eaten, so long as his sickness prevails he vomits and

casts up all; not that he doth this of a free mind (if we may say a Dog has a mind) but because it troubleth his Stomach; but now when his sickness is over, and so his Stomach eased, his desires being not at all alienate from his vomit, he turns him about and licks up all. And so it is true which is written, *The Dog is turned to his own vomit again.* This, I say, being ² Pet. 2. 22. hot for heaven, by virtue only of the sense and fear of the torments of Hell, as their sense of Hell and the fears of damnation chills and cools, so their desires for Heaven and
 10 Salvation cool also. So then it comes to pass that when their guilt and fear is gone, their desires for Heaven and Happiness die, and they return to their course again.

2. Another reason is, they have slavish fears that do overmaster them. I speak now of the fears that they have of men: *For the fear of men bringeth a snare.* So then, though ^{Prov. 29. 25} they seem to be hot for Heaven, so long as the flames of Hell are about their ears, yet when that terror is a little over, they betake themselves to second thoughts: namely, that 'tis good to be wise, and not to run (for they know not what) the
 20 hazard of losing all; or at least, of bringing themselves into unavoidable and unnecessary troubles: and so they fall in with the world again.

3. The shame that attends Religion lies also as a block in their way; they are proud and haughty, and Religion in their eye is low and contemptible. Therefore when they have lost their sense of Hell and wrath to come, they return again to their former course.

4. Guilt, and to meditate terror, are grievous to them, they like not to see their misery before they come into it. Though
 30 perhaps the sight of it first, if they loved that sight, might make them fly whither the righteous fly and are safe; but because they do, as I hinted before, even shun the thoughts of guilt and terror, therefore, when once they are rid of their awakenings about the terrors and wrath of God, they harden their hearts gladly, and chuse such ways as will harden them more and more.

CHR. *You are pretty near the business, for the bottom of all is for want of a change in their mind and will. And therefore*

they are but like the Felon that standeth before the Judge; he quakes and trembles, and seems to repent most heartily: but the bottom of all is the fear of the Halter, not of any detestation of the offence; as is evident, because, let but this man have his liberty, and he will be a Thief, and so a Rogue still; whereas, if his mind was changed, he would be otherwise.

HOPE. Now I have shewed you the reasons of their going back, do you show me the manner thereof.

*How the
Apostate
goes back.*

CHR. *So I will willingly.*

1. They draw off their thoughts, all that they may, from the remembrance of God, Death, and Judgment to come.

2. Then they cast off by degrees private Duties, as Closet-Prayer, curbing their lusts, watching, sorrow for sin, and the like.

3. Then they shun the company of lively and warm Christians.

4. After that, they grow cold to publick Duty, as Hearing, Reading, Godly Conference, and the like.

5. Then they begin to pick holes, as we say, in the Coats of some of the Godly, and that devilishly; that they may have a seeming colour to throw Religion (for the sake of some infirmity they have spied in them) behind their backs.

6. Then they begin to adhere to, and associate themselves with carnal, loose, and wanton men.

7. Then they give way to carnal and wanton discourses in secret; and glad are they if they can see such things in any that are counted honest, that they may the more boldly do it through their example.

8. After this, they begin to play with little sins openly.

9. And then, being hardened, they shew themselves as they are. Thus being launched again into the gulf of misery, unless a Miracle of Grace prevent it, they everlastingly perish in their own deceivings.

Ica. 62. 4.

Cant. 2. 10,
11, 12.

Now I saw in my Dream, that by this time the Pilgrims were got over the Incharmed Ground, and entering in the Country of *Beulah*, whose Air was very sweet and pleasant, the way lying directly through it, they solaced themselves there for a season. Yea, here they heard continually the

singing of Birds, and saw every day the flowers appear in the earth, and heard the voice of the Turtle in the Land. In this Country the Sun shineth night and day; wherefore this was beyond the Valley of the *Shadow of Death*, and also out of the reach of Giant *Despair*; neither could they from this place so much as see *Doubting-Castle*. Here they were within sight of the City they were going to: also here met them some of the Inhabitants thereof; for in this Land *Angels* the shining Ones commonly walked, because it was upon
 10 the Borders of Heaven. In this Land also the contract between the Bride and the Bridegroom was renewed; Yea here, as the Bridegroom rejoiceth over the Bride, so did their God ^{Isa. 62. 5.} rejoice over them. Here they had no want of Corn and Wine; ^{Ver. 8.} for in this place they met with abundance of what they had sought for in all their Pilgrimage. Here they heard voices from out of the City, loud voices; saying, *Say ye to the daughter of Zion, Behold thy Salvation cometh, behold, his reward is* ^{Ver. 11.} *with him.* Here all the Inhabitants of the Country called them, *The holy People, The redeemed of the Lord, Sought out,* ^{Ver. 12.}
 20 etc.

Now as they walked in this Land, they had more rejoicing than in parts more remote from the Kingdom to which they were bound; and drawing near to the City, they had yet a more perfect view thereof. It was builded of Pearls and precious Stones, also the Street thereof was paved with Gold, so that by reason of the natural glory of the City, and the reflection of the Sun-beams upon it, *Christian*, with desire fell sick, *Hopeful* also had a fit or two of the same Disease. Wherefore here they lay by it a while, crying out because of
 30 their pangs, *If you see my Beloved, tell him that I am sick of* ^{Cant. 5. 8.} *love.*

But being a little strengthened, and better able to bear their sickness, they walked on their way, and came yet nearer and nearer, where were Orchards, Vineyards and Gardens, and their Gates opened into the High-way. Now as they came up to these places, behold the Gardener stood in the way; to whom the Pilgrims said, Whose goodly Vineyards and Gardens are these? He answered, They are the King's, and are planted ^{Deut. 23. 84.}

here for his own delights, and also for the Solace of Pilgrims. So the Gardener had them into the Vineyards, and bid them refresh themselves with Dainties. He also shewed them *there* the King's walks, and the *Arbors* where he delighted to be. And here they tarried and slept.

Now I beheld in my Dream, that they talked more in their sleep at this time, than ever they did in all their Journey; and being in a muse thereabout, the Gardener said even to me Wherefore musest thou at the matter? It is the nature of the fruit of the Grapes of these Vineyards to go down so 10 sweetly, as to cause the lips of them that are asleep to speak.

So I saw that when they awoke, they addressed themselves to go up to the City. But, as I said, the reflections of the Rev. 21. 18. Sun upon the City (for the City was pure Gold) was so extremely glorious, that they could not, as yet, with open face 2 Cor. 3. 18. behold it, but through an *Instrument* made for that purpose. So I saw, that as they went on, there met them two men, in Raiment that shone like Gold, also their faces shone as the light.

These men asked the Pilgrims whence they came? and they 20 told them; they also asked them, Where they had lodg'd, what difficulties, and dangers, what comforts and pleasures they had met in the way? and they told them. Then said the men that met them, You have but two difficulties more to meet with, and then you are in the City.

Christian then and his Companion asked the men to go along with them, so they told them they would; but, said they, you must obtain it by your own faith. So I saw in my Dream that they went on together till they came in sight of the Gate. 30

Death.

Now I further saw that betwixt them and the Gate was a River, but there was no Bridge to go over, the River was very deep. At the sight therefore of this River, the Pilgrims were much stounded; but the men that went with them, said, You must go through, or you cannot come at the Gate.

Death is not welcome to nature, though by it we pass out

The Pilgrims then began to enquire if there was no other way to the Gate; to which they answered, Yes, but there hath not any, save two, to wit, *Enoch* and *Elijah*, been per-

mitted to tread that path, since the foundation of the World, ^{of this World into Glory.} nor shall, until the last Trumpet shall sound. The Pilgrims, then, especially *Christian*, began to dispond in his mind, and looked this way and that, but no way could be found by them, by which they might escape the River. Then they asked the men, if the Waters were all of a depth? They said, No; yet they could not help them in that Case, for said they: *You* ^{1 Cor. 15. 51, 52.} *Angels help us not comfortably through death.* shall find it deeper or shallower, as you believe in the King of the place.

10 They then addressed themselves to the Water; and entring, *Christian* began to sink, and crying out to his good friend *Hopeful* he said, I sink in deep Waters, the Billows go over my head, all his Waves go over me, *Selah*.

Then said the other, Be of good cheer, my Brother, I feel the bottom, and it is good. Then said *Christian*, Ah my friend, the sorrows of death have compassed me about, I shall not see the Land that flows with Milk and Honey. And with that, a great darkness and horror fell upon *Christian*, so that he could not see before him; also here he in great
20 measure lost his senses, so that he could neither remember nor orderly talk of any of those sweet refreshments that he had met with in the way of his Pilgrimage. But all the words that he spake still tended to discover that he had horror of mind, and hearty fears that he should die in that River, and never obtain entrance in at the Gate: here also, as they that stood by perceived, he was much in the troublesome thoughts of the sins that he had committed, both since and before he began to be a Pilgrim. 'Twas also observed, that he was troubled with apparitions of Hobgoblins and Evil Spirits. For ever
30 and anon he would intimate so much by words. *Hopeful* therefore here had much ado to keep his Brother's head above water, yea sometimes he would be quite gone down, and then ere a while he would rise up again half dead. *Hopeful* also would endeavour to comfort him, saying, Brother, I see the Gate, and men standing by it to receive us. But *Christian* would answer: 'Tis you, 'tis you they wait for, you have been *Hopeful* ever since I knew you. And so have you, said he to *Christian*. Ah Brother, said he, surely if I was right, he would

now arise to help me; but for my sins he hath brought me into the snare, and hath left me. Then said *Hopeful*, My Brother, you have quite forgot the Text, where it's said of the wicked, *There is no band in their death, but their strength is firm: they are not troubled as other men, neither are they plagued like other men.* These troubles and distresses that you go through in these Waters, are no sign that God hath forsaken you, but are sent to try you, whether you will call to mind that which heretofore you have received of his goodness, and live upon him in your distresses. 10

Christian delivered from his tears in death.

Then I saw in my Dream, that *Christian* was in a muse a while; to whom also *Hopeful* added this word, *Be of good cheer, Jesus Christ maketh thee whole: And with that, Christian brake out with a loud voice, Oh I see him again! and he tells me, When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee, and through the Rivers, they shall not overflow thee.* Then they both took courage, and the enemy was after that as still as a stone, until they were gone over. *Christian* therefore presently found ground to stand upon; and so it followed that the rest of the River was but shallow. Thus they got over. 20

The Angels do wait for them as soon as they are passed out of this world.

They have put off mortality.

Wherefore being come up out of the River, they saluted them saying, *We are ministring Spirits, sent forth to minister for those that shall be Heirs of Salvation.* Thus they went along towards the Gate. Now you must note that the City stood upon a mighty hill, but the Pilgrims went up that hill *with ease*, because they had these two men to lead them up by the Arms; also they had left their *Mortal* Garments behind them in the River; for though they went in with them, they came out 30 without them. They therefore went up here with much agility and speed, though the foundation upon which the City was framed was higher than the Clouds. They therefore went up through the regions of the Air, sweetly talking as they went, being comforted, because they safely got over the River, and had such glorious Companions to attend them.

The talk they had with the shining Ones, was about the Glory of the place, who told them, that the beauty, and glory

of it was inexpressible. There, said they, is the Mount *Sion*, the Heavenly *Jerusalem*, the innumerable company of Angels, and the Spirits of Just men made perfect. You are going now, said they, to the Paradise of God, wherein you shall see the Tree of Life, and eat of the never-fading fruits thereof: and when you come there you shall have white Robes given you, and your walk and talk shall be every day with the King, even all the days of Eternity. There you shall not see again such things as you saw when you were in the lower Region upon the Earth, to wit, sorrow, sickness, affliction, and death, *for the former things are passed away*. You are going now to Abraham, to Isaac, and Jacob, and to the Prophets; men that God hath taken away from the evil to come, and that are now resting upon their Beds, each one walking in his righteousness. The men then asked, What must we do in the holy place? To whom it was answered, You must there receive the comfort of all your toil, and have joy for all your sorrow; you must reap what you have sown, even the fruit of all your Prayers and Tears, and sufferings for the King by the way.

20 In that place you must wear Crowns of Gold, and enjoy the perpetual sight and Visions of the *Holy One*, *for there you shall see him as he is*. There also you shall serve him continually with praise, with shouting and thanksgiving, whom you desired to serve in the World, though with much difficulty, because of the infirmity of your flesh. There your eyes shall be delighted with seeing, and your ears with hearing the pleasant voice of the mighty One. There you shall enjoy your friends again, that are got thither before you; and there you shall with joy receive even every one that follows into the Holy Place

30 after you. There also you shall be clothed with Glory and Majesty, and put into an equipage fit to ride out with the King of Glory. When he shall come with sound of Trumpet in the Clouds, as upon the wings of the wind, you shall come with him; and when he shall sit upon the Throne of Judgment, you shall sit by him; yea, and when he shall pass Sentence upon all the workers of Iniquity, let them be Angels or Men, you also shall have a voice in that Judgment, because they were his and your Enemies. Also when he shall

Heb. 12. 22,
23, 24.
Rev. 2. 7,
Rev. 3. 4

Rev. 21. 3.

Isa. 57. 1. 2.
Isa. 65. 14.

Gal. 6. 7.

1 John 3. 2.

1 Thess. 4.
13, 14, 15, 16.
Jude 14.
Dan. 7. 9, 10.
1 Cor. 6. 2, 3.

again return to the City, you shall go too, with sound of Trumpet, and be ever with him.

Now while they were thus drawing towards the Gate, behold a company of the Heavenly Host came out to meet them¹: to whom it was said by the other two shining Ones, These are the men that have loved our Lord, when they were in the World; and that have left all for his holy Name, and he hath sent us to fetch them, and we have brought them thus far on their desired Journey; that they may go in and look their Redeemer in the face with joy. Then the Heavenly¹⁰ Host gave a great shout, saying, *Blessed are they that are called the Marriage supper of the Lamb*:

Rev. 19. 9.

There came out also at this time to meet them several of the Kings Trumpeters, cloathed in white and shining Raiment, who with melodious noises and loud, made even the Heavens to echo with their sound. These Trumpeters saluted *Christian* and his Fellow with ten thousand welcomes from the world: and this they did with shouting, and sound of Trumpet.

This done, they compassed them round on every side;²⁰ some went before, some behind, and some on the right hand, some on the left (as 'twere to guard them through the upper Regions) continually sounding as they went, with melodious noise, in notes on high; so that the very sight was to them that could behold it, as if Heaven it self was come down to meet them. Thus therefore they walked on together, and as they walked, ever and anon, these Trumpeters, even with joyful sound, would, by mixing their Musick with looks and gestures, still signify to *Christian* and his Brother, how welcome they were into their company, and with what gladness³⁰ they came to meet them. And now were these two men, as 'twere, in Heaven, before they came at it; being swallowed up with the sight of Angels, and with hearing of their melodious notes. Here also they had the City itself in view,

1 Now, now look how the holy Pilgrims ride,
Clouds are their Chariots, Angels are their Guide:
Who would not here for him all Hazards run,
That thus provides for him when this World's done?

and they thought they heard all the Bells therein to ring, to welcome them thereto: but above all, the warm, and joyful thoughts that they had about their own dwelling there, with such company, and that for ever and ever. Oh! by what tongue or pen can their glorious joy be expressed? And thus they came up to the Gate.

Now when they were come up to the Gate, there was written over it, in Letters of Gold, *Blessed are they that do his com-* Rev. 22. 14.
mandments, that they may have right to the Tree of life; and may
10 *enter in through the Gates into the City.*

Then I saw in my Dream, that the shining men bid them call at the Gate; the which when they did, some from above looked over the Gate, to wit, *Enoch, Moses, and Elijah*, etc. to whom it was said, These Pilgrims are come from the City of *Destruction*, for the love that they bear to the King of this place: and then the Pilgrims gave in unto them each man his Certificate, which they had received in the beginning. Those therefore were carried in to the King, who when he had read them, said, Where are the men? To whom it was answered,
20 They are standing without the Gate, the King then commanded to open the Gate, *That the righteous Nation*, said he, Isa. 26. 2.
that keepeth truth may enter in.

Now I saw in my Dream, that these two men went in at the Gate; and lo, as they entered, they were transfigured, and they had Raiment put on that shone like Gold. There was also that met them with Harps and Crowns, and gave them to them; the Harp to praise withal, and the Crowns in token of honor. Then I heard in my Dream that all the Bells in the City Rang again for joy, and that it was said
30 unto them, *Enter ye into the joy of your Lord.* I also heard the men themselves, that they sang with a loud voice, saying, *Blessing, Honour, Glory, and Power, be to him that sitteth upon* Rev. 5. 13.
the Throne, and to the Lamb for ever and ever. 14. *

Now just as the Gates were opened to let in the men, I looked in after them; and behold, the City shone like the Sun, the Streets also were paved with Gold, and in them walked many men, with Crowns on their heads, Palms in their hands, and golden Harps to sing praises withal.

There were also of them that had wings, and they answered one another without intermission, saying, *Holy, Holy, Holy, is the Lord*. And after that, they shut up the Gates: which when I had seen, I wished myself among them.

Ignorance
comes up to
the River.

Vain-Hope
does ferry
him over.

Now while I was gazing upon all these things, I turned my head to look back, and saw *Ignorance* come up to the River side; but he soon got over, and that without half that difficulty which the other two men met with. For it happened that there was then in that place one *Vain-hope* a Ferry-man, that with his Boat helped him over: so he, as the other I saw, 10 did ascend the Hill to come up to the Gate, only he came alone; neither did any man meet him with the least encouragement. When he was come up to the Gate, he looked up to the writing that was above; and then began to knock, supposing that entrance should have been quickly administered to him. But he was asked by the men that lookt over the top of the Gate, Whence came you? and what would you have? He answered, I have eat and drank in the presence of the King, and he has taught in our Streets. Then they asked him for his Certificate, that they might go in and shew it to the King. So he 20 fumbled in his bosom for one, and found none. Then said they, Have you none? But the man answered never a word. So they told the King, but he would not come down to see him, but commanded the two shining Ones that conducted *Christian* and *Hopeful* to the City, to go out and take *Ignorance* and bind him hand and foot, and have him away. Then they took him up, and carried him through the air to the door that I saw in the side of the Hill, and put him in there. Then I saw that there was a way to Hell, even from the Gates of Heaven, as well as from the City of *Destruction*. So I awoke, 30 and behold it was a Dream.

FINIS.

The Conclusion.

Now Reader, I have told my Dream to thee;
See if thou canst Interpret it to me;
Or to thyself, or Neighbor: but take heed
Of mis-interpreting; for that, instead
Of doing good, will but thyself abuse: 5
By mis-interpreting evil insues.

Take heed also, that thou be not extream,
In playing with the out-side of my Dream:
Nor let my figure, or similitude,
Put thee into a laughter or a feud; 10
Leave this for Boys and Fools; but as for thee
Do thou the substance of my matter see.

Put by the Curtains, look within my Vail;
Turn up my Metaphors and do not fail
There, if thou seekest them, such things to find, 15
As will be helpful to an honest mind.

What of my dross thou findest there, be bold
To throw away, but yet preserve the Gold.
What if my Gold be wrapped up in Ore?
None throws away the Apple for the Core. 20
But if thou shalt cast all away as vain,
I know not but 'twill make me dream again.

THE END.

NOTES ON THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS

THE FIRST PART.

The Author's Apology.

IN the poetical introduction to his allegory, Bunyan describes the origin of the work, his doubts as to its publication, and how his difficulty was increased by the varied counsel of his friends; and then proceeds to defend at considerable length his adoption of the allegorical style for the setting forth of religious truth. The pains Bunyan takes to meet and answer the objections to the character of his work evidence the distaste felt by the stricter Puritans for a form of composition so unusual in religious writing and savouring too much, it might be thought, of human ingenuity and the wisdom of this world. Bunyan evidently expected his book to be received with disfavour by his coreligionists, and can have been little prepared for the popularity it so speedily attained.

We have in this introduction—the origin of the work, spontaneous, not premeditated, vv. 1-18; when the author first began writing he did not purpose printing, vv. 19-34; when showed to his friends, some counselled its being published, some not, vv. 35-40; he determined on giving it to the world, vv. 41-60; the author defends, by sundry illustrations, the adoption of varied forms of composition to attain a good end, vv. 61-98; rebuts the charges of want of solidity, vv. 101-126; and of obscurity, vv. 127-158; he asserts his right to use metaphors, vv. 165-176; to adopt the form of dialogue, vv. 177-186; the correspondence of his style with that of Holy Scripture, vv. 187-192; and concludes by drawing out the profitableness of his book under sundry heads, vv. 193-236.

Line 2. *Thus for to write.* This reduplication of prepositions with the infinitive is now sunk into a vulgarism, but it is really a survival of an ancient form of speech found in the Bible and Shakespeare as well as in our earlier writers, e. g.

‘He bigan to schake ys axe for to smyte anon.’

Robert of Gloucester, p. 25.

In the Authorized Version of the Bible it is of not unfrequent occurrence. The explanation of this idiom is that the preposition *to* was regarded as an essential part of the infinitive of a verb, an inseparable inflection involving no sense of purpose. To express this the preposition *for* was prefixed, the reduplication being therefore only apparent, not real.—Latham, *English Language*, ii. p. 419.

ll. 7-18. We learn from this and the following lines that the *Pilgrim's Progress* in its first idea was no more than an illustrative episode in some other work of Bunyan's, which did not assume a separate form until the allegory, followed out for the gratification of his fancy, had grown to such an extent as to threaten to 'eat out' the book on which he was engaged.

l. 28. *worser*. We have here an example of excess of expression in a double comparative. This is no real vulgarism, but an antiquated form very frequent in our early writers. It occurs repeatedly in Shakespeare, and is used even as late as Dryden, e.g.

'A dreadful quiet felt and *worser* far
Than arms, a sullen interval of war.'

Worser is not found in the Authorized Version, but we have the double comparative *lesser*: Gen. i. 16 'The *lesser* light to rule the night.'

ll. 31-32. The metaphor here is derived from spinning. In this the spinner having the wool or flax on the distaff takes hold of an end and draws it towards her, and twisting it between her finger and thumb to give it coherence, 'still as she pulls it comes,' in the form of a continuous thread.

l. 59. *palliate*, employed in an unusual sense, for to *mitigate*, to *soothe*. Its true sense is to *cloak* or *cover*. Lat. *pallium*, 'a cloak.'

l. 76. *angles*. A fishing-rod with a line and hook, from the Anglo-Saxon *angel*, a fish-hook. We find it in this sense in the Authorized Version.

l. 79. The allusion here is to the way in which fish are sometimes caught with the hand, by groping for them beneath banks, or under stones, or adroitly tickling them with the fingers. We have references to both modes in Shakespeare. We find also in Beaumont and Fletcher, *Scornful Lady*, Act. iii, 'Be a baron and a bold one: leave off tickling of young heirs like trouts.'

l. 83. *His Gun, his Nets, his Limetwigs, light, and bell*. The reference is to various artifices used for capturing birds. See the quotation from Burton's *Jewel for Gentrie*, London, 1614, given in Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes*, p. 34. In the sport of bird-baiting, or low-belling, which was practised on dark nights, a man carried a light before him with one hand, and rang a large bell, shaped like a cow-bell, with the other, to

frighten the game and prevent it taking flight. His companions then netted the birds as they lay on the ground. 'Limetwigs' are twigs coated with birdlime. When a bird has once settled on a lime-twig its feet are held tenaciously by the viscid birdlime, and it becomes the prey of the fowler. References to this mode of catching birds are frequent in Shakespeare, and Milton writes in *Comus* 'the very lime-twigs of his spells,' l. 646.

l. 87. *Yea, he must pipe and whistle to catch this.* The pipe-call is thus alluded to by Chaucer: 'So the bride is begyled with the merry voice of the fowler's whistel when it is closed in your nette'; *Testament of Love*, bk. ii.

l. 89. *If that a Pearl may in a Toads-head dwell.* The toad, writes Pennant, *Zoology*, iii. p. 15, 'was believed by some old writers to have a stone in its head, fraught with great virtues medical and magical. It was distinguished by the name of the reptile, and called the *Toadstone*, *Bufonites*, &c., but all its fancied powers vanished on the discovery of its being nothing but the fossil tooth of the sea wolf, or some other flat-toothed fish not unfrequent in our island.' To distinguish counterfeits from the true toadstone a very sure and easy method was prescribed: 'Hold the stone,' writes Lupton (*Notable Things*, bk. vii), 'before a toad, that he may see it; and if it be a right and true stone the toad will leap toward it and make as though he would snatch it. He envieth so much that man should have that stone.'

l. 102. *What of that I tro?* I have adhered to Bunyan's spelling in preference to the more usual *trow*. This word, which has now dropped out of use, is found in one place in the Authorized Version in the sense of to *think, believe, suppose*: 'Doth he thank that servant because he did the things that were commanded him? I *trow* not,' Luke xvii. 9. Compare with the Anglo-Saxon *trēowian*, 'to trust,' and the German *trauen*.

l. 116. *by pins and loops.* See Exod. xxvi. 5, xxvii. 19. A misapplied ingenuity by forcing a spiritual meaning upon every minute detail of the Mosaic ritual has done injury to the cause of true scriptural symbolism.

l. 117. The allusions in this and the following line are to the Pass-over and various Levitical sacrifices. *By Calves*, Lev. xvi. 3, 14, 15, Heb. ix. 12, 19; *and Sheep*, Lev. i. 10, xxii. 19; *by Heifers*, Lev. xix. 2-9, Heb. ix. 13; *by Rams*, Exod. xxix. 15-32, Lev. v. 15, 16.

l. 118. *by Birds*, Lev. xiv. 4-39; *and Herbs, and by the blood of Lambs*, Exod. xii. 7, 8.

l. 146. *his Lies in Silver Shrines.* The reference is to the silver shrines made for the Ephesian Diana mentioned in Acts xix. 24. These were probably little models of the temple at Ephesus, and of the

famous statue within, the manufacture and sale of which formed a lucrative trade.

l. 147. *Swadling-clouts*. A *clout*, originally a patch, came to signify 'a rag, or piece of linen generally.' We find it so used in Jer. xxxviii. 11, 12. *Swadling-clouts* were the long linen bandages formerly used in England, as now in Italy, for swaddling or swathing the limbs of new-born infants. The term is used by Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, ii. 2.

l. 184. *He that taught us first to Plough*. Cf. Is. xxviii. 24, 26, 'Doth the ploughman plough all day to sow? doth he open and break the clods of his ground? . . . For his God doth instruct him to discretion, and doth teach him also.'

l. 217. *they will stick like Burs*. Any rough or prickly seed-vessel or flower-head of a plant is a *bur* or *burr*—especially the flower-head of the Bur-dock. The *New English Dictionary* says the word appears to be identical, or cognate with, the Danish *borre*, 'bur, burdock'; Swedish *borre*, 'sea-urchin'; though the word is not found in Old Norse, nor in English before the fourteenth century.

Argument.

Graceless, a dweller in the city of Destruction, fears to be overwhelmed in the overthrow of the city, p. 11; warned by Evangelist to make his escape, and directed to the Wicket Gate, p. 13; begins to run for his life, his name changed to Christian, overtaken by Obstinate and Pliable, persuades Pliable to accompany him, p. 14; they both fall into the Slough of Despond, p. 16; Pliable goes back, Christian, assisted by Help, gets out, p. 17; meets Mr. Worldly Wiseman, who directs him to Mr. Legality, pp. 18-21; alarmed at Mount Sinai; meets Evangelist again, who puts him in the right road, pp. 21-25; arrives at the Wicket Gate, knocks, and is let in by Goodwill, who directs him to the Interpreter's house, pp. 25-28; arrives there, the Interpreter shows him a picture, an unswept room, p. 29; Passion and Patience, p. 30; water and oil thrown on a fire, p. 32; the Valiant Man, p. 33; the Man in despair, pp. 33-35; the Man terrified by the dream of the last day, pp. 35, 36; Christian comes up to the Cross, loses his Burden, receives gifts from Angels, tries in vain to awaken Simple, Sloth, and Presumption, p. 37; meets with Formalist and Hypocrisy, pp. 38-40; climbs Hill Difficulty, sleeps in the Arbour and drops his roll, p. 41; meets Mistrust and Timorous running away from

the lions, pp. 41, 42; misses his Roll, returns in grief and recovers it, pp. 42, 43; reaches the Palace Beautiful, alarmed at the lions, encouraged by the porter Watchful, pp. 44, 45; examined by Prudence, Piety, and Charity, and admitted, p. 45; they discourse together, and have supper, pp. 46-50; Christian sleeps in the Chamber of Peace, p. 51; is shown the study, the armoury, the antiquities, the Delectable Mountains, pp. 51, 52; is armed and dismissed, p. 53; descends into the Valley of Humiliation, fights with and overcomes Apollyon, pp. 53-57; comes to the Valley of the Shadow of Death, discouraged by the children of the Spies, p. 58; passes through the Valley, his dangers there, pp. 59-62; he passes the cave of the Giants Pope and Pagan, p. 62; overtakes Faithful, p. 63; they converse together, Faithful narrates the experiences of his journey, meets Madame Wanton, Adam the first, pp. 65-67; Moscs, Discontent, p. 67; Shame, pp. 68, 69; they meet Talkative, he discourses finely, but is put to shame by Faithful's plain dealing, pp. 70-79; Evangelist meets them and warns them of the troubles they will meet with in Vanity Fair, pp. 80-82; description of Vanity Fair, pp. 82, 83; the pilgrims enter the fair, are maltreated, imprisoned, and brought to trial, pp. 83-85; their trial, pp. 85-90; they are condemned, and Faithful is burnt, p. 90; Christian escapes and goes on his way with Hopeful as a companion, p. 91; they meet By-ends, who wishes to join them, pp. 91-93; he takes up with other companions, pp. 93-97; Mr. Hold-the-world's sophistry detected, p. 97; Demas tempts them to the Hill Lucre, they refuse, but By-ends and his companions consent, pp. 98-100; Lot's Wife, pp. 100-102; the pleasant meadow and river, p. 102; they turn aside into By-Path-Meadow, Vain Confidence's end, p. 103; they are in danger of drowning, p. 104; are seized by Giant Despair and imprisoned in Doubting Castle, and cruelly treated by the Giant by the advice of his Wife Diffidence, pp. 105-108; they escape by the Key of Promise, pp. 108, 109; they reach the Delectable Mountains, are entertained by the Shepherds, pp. 109, 110; they are shown Mount Error, Mount Caution, p. 111; the by-way to Hell, p. 112; the Hill Clear, p. 113; converse with Ignorance, p. 114; Turnaway, story of the robbery of Little Faith, and conversation thereon, pp. 115-121; they are deluded by the Flatterer, and released and chastised by an Angel, pp. 121-123; they meet Atheist, p. 123;

the Enchanted Ground, Hopeful gives an account of his conversion, pp. 125-131; second conversation with Ignorance, pp. 131-137; the history of Temporary and conversation thereon, pp. 138-140; they enter the country of Beulah, p. 140; are sick of love, p. 141; come in sight of the Gate, approach the River, which they enter, p. 142; Christian nearly drowned, p. 143; they both get safely over, p. 144; they climb the Hill, attended by Angels, pp. 144-146; and are admitted to the Heavenly City, p. 147; Ignorance ferried over by Vain Hope, carried away to the bottomless pit, p. 148.

THE PILGRIM'S PROGRESS.

(THE FIRST PART.)

* P. 11, l. 2. *where was a Den.* In the margin of the seventh edition Bunyan first inserted the explanatory note on the word *den*, 'the Gaol,' or, as he spelt it, 'Goal.' He thus indicates beyond question that this allegory was conceived by him when he was a prisoner in Bedford gaol. His earliest biographer, Charles Doe, states distinctly that the work was written in prison, though not published till some time after his release. The word *den* is used by him of the place of imprisonment of the pilgrims in Doubting Castle: 'Go get you down to your *den* again,' p. 108, l. 20.

✓ l. 9. *he brake out with a lamentable cry; saying, what shall I do?* Compare with this Bunyan's description of his own state when under conviction of sin: 'Sometimes I have been so loaden with my sins that I could not tell where to rest nor what to do; yea at such times I thought it would have taken away my senses.'—*Law and Grace.*

— l. 11. *In this plight.* The whole passage down to p. 12, l. 23, 'What shall I do to be saved?' formed no part of the original work, and was added in the second edition.

l. 17. *your dear friend.* The meaning of *friend* was wider in our older language than now, and embraced those united by relationship or sexual love; e.g. *Midsummer Night's Dream*, v. 1, Shakespeare makes Theseus say of Pyramus on the supposed death of Thisbe, 'This passion and the death of a dear *friend*, would go near to make a man look sad.' Cf. also *Othello*, iv. 1, v. 2; *Measure for Measure*, i. 5. The plural is still used with the sense of 'kinsfolk.' This is the only sense of the word in the Scandinavian languages; similarly in many of the High German dialects, *frend* is 'kinsman.'

P. 12, l. 4. *some frenzy distemper*. Cf. 'Goblins swift as *frenzy* thoughts.' *Troilus and Cressida*, v. 11. The idiom is a familiar one, by which substantives are transformed into adjectives by position alone. 'There is hardly anything more characteristic of the English language than this particular faculty,' writes Professor Earle (*Philology of the English Tongue*, ed. 5, p. 541).

Ibid., at bottom. The verses placed here and elsewhere (e.g. pp. 23, 25, 37, &c.) at the foot of the page are those which stand below the rude woodcuts with which the *Pilgrim's Progress* began to be illustrated after the tenth edition.

l. 13. *harsh and surly carriages to him*. 'Carriage,' still used for the deportment of the body, e.g. a person of a good carriage, formerly denoted 'conduct,' or 'behaviour,' i.e. the manner in which one carries oneself to another.

l. 17. *to condole his own misery*. So afterwards, p. 106, l. 1, the pilgrims in Doubting Castle were left by Giant Despair '*to condole their misery*.' Till a comparatively recent time 'to condole' was always used transitively, e.g.

'I come not, Samson, to *condole* thy chances.'

Milton, *Samson Agonistes*, l. 1076.

and

'Let us *condole* the knight.'

Shakespeare, *Henry V*, ii. 1.

P. 13, l. 1. *Tophet*. From *Toph*, Heb. 'a drum,' or 'tabret,' a place in the valley of Hinnom, to the south-east of Jerusalem, which, from being defiled by idols, and polluted by the sacrifices of Baal and the fires of Moloch, acquired the symbolical sense of 'the place of abominations, the very gate and pit of hell.'

l. 2. *I am sure*. This parenthesis was omitted in the second and subsequent editions. It gives additional life to the passage.

l. 12. *Wicket-gate*. A wicket is literally 'a small thing that easily turns.' M.E. *wiket*. Old French *wiket* or *gwichet*. Formed, with a French diminutive suffix, from Icel. *vik-inn*, pp. of the strong verb *vikja*, 'to move, turn, veer.'

'Till that I found a *wicket* small,
So shette that I ne might in gone.'

Chaucer, *Romaunt of the Rose*.

'And so went into the hygh strete with his penon before hym, and came to the great towre, but the gate and *wychet* was fast closed.'—Berners' translation of Froissart's *Chronicles*, edition 1812, chapter xxxvi (p. 50). The similarity of the wicket in the game of cricket to a small doorway is self-evident.

1. 36. *you will sink lower than the Grave.* The spelling of the conjunction 'then' or 'than' is very uncertain in the *Pilgrim's Progress*. In the first edition of the first part, we have almost uniformly 'then,' which is as uniformly changed into 'than' in the second edition. In the second part, 'then' is found in the earlier and later portions of the first edition, while 'than' appears in the middle. The conjunction of comparison is always 'then' in the earlier editions of the Authorized Version of the Bible. So also in Milton's *Areopagitica*: '*A wise man will make better use of an idle pamphlet, than a fool will do of sacred Scripture.*' 'Then' and 'than' were originally identical. A. S. *ponne*.

P. 14, l. 3. *yes, said Christian, for that was his name.* This is the first time the name of the pilgrim is mentioned. We learn from his reply to the Porter at the House Beautiful, p. 44, l. 28, that Christian was a designation adopted when he set out on his journey, his name having been previously 'Graceless.'

1. 21. *when they take a fancy by the end.* The image is from spinning, as in l. 31 of the Author's Apology for his Book, where see the note.

1. 29. *Nay, but do thou.* These words first appeared in the eighth edition. The sentence previously commenced with '*come with me.*'

P. 15, l. 32. *This is excellent.* Mark the use of 'excellent' in a way then very familiar, but now gone out of use, 'capital' having taken its place as a colloquialism. It is very frequent in Shakespeare.

1. 36. *Seraphims, and Cherubins.* Bunyan's spelling is preserved, which confounds the Hebrew plural *-im*, and the Chaldee plural *-in* (the latter of which appears in verse 4 of the *Te Deum* in the Book of Common Prayer), and adds the English sign of the plural *s*, as if they were singular nouns. This last error is shared by our Authorized Version: 'He placed at the east of the garden of Eden *Cherubims*,' Gen. iii. 24; 'Then flew one of the *Seraphims* unto me,' Isaiah vi. 6.

P. 16, l. 25. *The name of the Slough was Dispond.* In nearly all modern editions *Dispond* is altered into *Despond*. I have adhered to Bunyan's orthography. We have similar forms in *dispirit*, *dispunge*, (*Antony and Cleopatra*, iv. 9), *disport*, *dispatch*. Compare the Italian *disperare*, *dispetto*, *dispogliare*. In the second part, *Giant Despair* appears as *Dispair*. For the spiritual meaning of this allegory see p. 17, ll. 27-31.

P. 17, l. 14. *Why did you not look for the steps?* By the steps, the marginal note informs us, are meant the promises to repenting sinners contained in the Bible, which are sufficient to bear them up above all despondency.

1. 35. *above this sixteen hundred years.* The period is not immaterial.

The first part of the *Pilgrim's Progress* was published in 1678, having been written a few years previously. The reference is to the Gospel of pardon and assurance first published by our Blessed Lord, and since continuously proclaimed by His ministers.

P. 18, l. 13. *bemired to purpose*, more usually *to the purpose*; a colloquialism signifying the carrying out of the object originally intended, and then, anything done completely.

l. 24. *turned their tales*. Often printed in modern editions 'turned their tails,' a certainly much more common expression, but apparently incorrect here. The meaning seems to be that, after having laughed at Pliable till they were tired, they began to take another view, and to ridicule Christian. 'He has turned his tale' is still used in Lincolnshire, and probably in many other counties, to express the idea, 'he is contradicting his former statement.'

¶ 1. 27. The whole account of Christian's interview with Mr. Worldly Wiseman, and its consequences, was, like the conversation between By-ends and his companions, and the narrative concerning Mrs. Diffidence at Doubting Castle, a happy afterthought of Bunyan's, first appearing in the second edition.

l. 23. *having some inkling of him*. An *inkling* is a hint, an intimation, a vague and imperfect knowledge, the rumour of some intelligence. The derivation of *inkling* is uncertain. Professor Skeat suspects it to be corrupted from the Danish *ymte*, 'to murmur, mutter,' an iterative verb from *ymja*, 'to mutter, hum.'

P. 19, l. 29. *I beshrow him for his counsel*. Beshrow is here an imprecatory expression. M.E. *bi-schrēwen*, from *schrewe*, adj. 'wicked,' with the prefix *bi*. Both the simple and compound forms are very frequent in Chaucer. In Shakespeare it occurs as a kind of mild oath. The interchange of the vowels *e* and *o* in the verb corresponds with that in *shew* and *show*; *strew* and *strow*. Mr. Craik remarks (*English of Shakespeare*, p. 141), '*Shrew*, whether the substantive or the verb, always, I believe, appears throughout the first folio (Shakespeare) with *ow* as the diphthong, instead of *ew*; and in the *Taming of the Shrew*, the word *shrew* is in various places made to rhyme with the sound of *o*, so that there can be little doubt that its common pronunciation in Shakespeare's time was *shrow*. It is the reverse of what appears to have happened in the case of the word which probably was formerly pronounced *shew* (as it is still often spelled), but now always *show*.'

P. 21, l. 21. *He stood still, and he wot not what to do*. He knew not what to do. 'Wot' is a good old Bible word, which we have in Gen. xxi. 26, 'I wot not who hath done this thing'; Phil. 1. 22, 'What

I shall choose, I *wot* not.' *Wot* is the first person, present indicative of M. E. *witen*, to 'know, to wit.'

P. 23, l. 16. *the Town of Morality*. By a printer's error we have 'the men of *Mortality*,' in all the editions till the eighth.

P. 24, l. 16. *the Bond-woman that now is, and is in bondage with her children*; a misquotation from Gal. iv. 25: 'This Agar . . . answereth to Jerusalem which now is, and (Agar, not Jerusalem) is in bondage with her (Agar's own) children.' The subject of the clause 'that now is,' being a different one from that of the clause 'is in bondage.'

P. 25, l. 21. *after he had kist him*. For *kist* the second edition strangely reads *kept*, which gives no sense.

l. 28. *So in process of time*. The first edition has *By this time*. The alteration was made to bring the text into harmony with the long narrative of Mr. Worldly Wiseman and the second meeting with Evangelist which ends here.

l. 30. Cf. Spenser, *Faery Queene*, Bk. I, c. x. 5.

P. 27, l. 12. *Truly, said Christian*. From here to *in no wise are cast out*, p. 28, l. 1, was first inserted in the second edition.

l. 14. *there is no betterment 'twixt him and myself*. A confusion of idiom. Bunyan's meaning is, 'I am just as bad as he is; there is no betterness on my side.' It will be remarked that 'betterment' is an improperly formed word, a Latin termination being affixed to an English root.

l. 18. *he would have had you a sought for ease*. The *a* in *a sought* stands for *have*. The full sentence would run 'he would have had you (persuaded you) to have sought.' This use of *a* for *have* is of very frequent occurrence in the second part. Natural attrition has very generally reduced *have* to *a* in the speech of the common people. This process may be traced very early. In writers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, *have* was weakened to *ha*; which was still further reduced to *a*.

l. 31. *in the midst of my dumps*. 'To be in the dumps' was not always, as now, a ludicrous term for melancholy, fixed sadness. We find it used in serious prose, as 'Edwine thus perplexed with troubled thoughts in the dead of the night, sate solitary under a tree *in dumps* musing what was best to be done,' Speed, *Saxon Kings*, Bk. vii, c. 9, § 8; and 'Some of our poore familye bee fallen into suche *dumps* that scantelye can anye suche coumfort as my poore witte can geue them anye thyng assuage theyr sorowe,' Sir Thomas More, *Works*, p. 1140. According to the *New English Dictionary* the derivation is obscure. Professor Skeat believes it to be allied to *damp*. The word was em-

ployed in a derived sense for a melancholy strain of music, either vocal or instrumental, or even a poetical composition:

‘To their instruments
Tune a deploring *dump*.’

Two Gentlemen of Verona, iii. 2.

‘He loves nothing but an Italian *dump*
Or a French brawl (a kind of dance).’

Honour out of Breath, 1607.

Nares’ *Glossary* (*sub voce*) mentions an Elegy entitled ‘A *Dump* upon the Death of the most noble Henrie Earle of Pembroke.’

P. 28, l. 10. *many ways butt down upon this*. To *butt down upon* is to end in, to issue into (of a road, or path). Partly from *butt*, adoption of French *but*, a goal, a shooting-target, and partly aphetic from *abut*.

P. 29, l. 14. *The Man whose Picture this is, is one of a thousand*. This portrait of a faithful minister of Christ has been very reasonably supposed to have been drawn from John Gifford, once a major in the royal army, and a man of most depraved life, but afterwards minister to the Baptist congregation at Bedford of which Bunyan became a member, and to whom he looked up with affectionate reverence as his spiritual father.

l. 15. *travel in birth with Children*. The word when used in the sense of suffering labour, toil and pain, is now always spelt *travail*, *travel* being restricted to the labour endured in journeying. This distinction is modern. The old spelling is preserved in one place in the A.V., Lam. iii. 5 ‘He hath . . . compassed me with gall and *travel*.’ In Num. xx. 14 the printers have changed ‘*travail*’ into ‘*travel*’ without any authority.

P. 30, l. 34. *The Governor of them*—their guardian or tutor. Cf. Gal. iv. 12 ‘The heir as long as he is a child . . . is under tutors and *governors* until the time appointed of the father.’

℣. 37. *Then I saw that one came to Passion, and brought him a Bag of Treasure, and poured it down at his feet, &c.* Coleridge remarks, ‘One of the not many instances of faulty allegory in the *Pilgrim’s Progress*; that is, it is no allegory. The beholding “but a while” and the change into “nothing but rags” is not legitimately imaginable. A longer time and more interlinks are requisite. It is a hybrid compost of usual images and generalized words. . . . Yet perhaps these very defects are practically excellences in relation to the writer and readers of the *Pilgrim’s Progress*.’—*Literary Remains*, iii. 402.

✓ P. 32, l. 13. *This fire is the work of Grace*. ‘This is beautiful.’—Coleridge, u. s. p. 403. Compare Bunyan’s description of his own experiences: ‘Then hath the Tempter come upon me also with such dis-

couragements as these—You are very hot for mercy, but I will cool you; this frame shall not last always. Many have been as hot as you for a spurt, but I have quenched their zeal.'—*Grace Abounding*, § 110, p. 327, l. 38.

P. 33, l. 1. *and his Inkhorn before him.* 'Inkhorn' is a Bible word. In Ezekiel ix. 2, 3, 11, we read of 'a man clothed in linen with a writer's inkhorn by his side.' It is the recognized designation for an 'ink pot' or 'ink glass,' and occurs abundantly in our early writers.

l. 5. *in a maze.* The first edition has 'in a muse.' *Maze* is mental confusion, stupefaction. M. E. *māse*, 'bewilderment'; *māsen*, 'to maze, to make or become dizzy.' Professor Skeat says it is of Scandinavian origin; cf. Norweg. *masa-st* (where *-st* is reflexive), 'to lose one's senses and begin to dream.'

l. 28. *a Man in an Iron Cage.* According to Mr. Offer, Introduction to the *Pilgrim's Progress*, p. 72, the man in the iron cage was intended for one John Child, an apostate, or at least some features of the description were drawn from him. Child was born in Bedford in 1638, and became a minister. For fear of persecution he fell away, and afterwards being visited with awful compunctions of conscience, in a fit of desperation he destroyed himself, October 15, 1684. See the *Relation of the Life and Death of John Child*, 1734. The *Relation of the Fearful State of Francis Spira*, a book which we know to have been terribly familiar to Bunyan (*Grace Abounding*, § 163, p. 343), doubtless contributed some details to this awful picture. Bunyan in his *Barren Fig Tree*, p. 202, alludes to the case of Spira almost in the same words as here.

P. 34, l. 15. *ask him, said the Interpreter.* This is followed in the first edition by 'Nay, said Christian, pray Sir do you'; upon which the Interpreter becomes the interrogator. This was changed in the second edition.

P. 35, l. 17. *and saw the Clouds rack at an unusual rate.* The verb to *rack* is familiar in our sixteenth century writers for the motion of clouds when driven by the wind.

'The clouds *rack* clear before the sun.'

Ben Jonson, *Underw.* vi. 448.

'Stay, clouds, ye *rack* too fast.'

Beaumont and Fletcher, *Four Plays in One.*

The substantive *rack* means cloudy vapour, mist. Cf. Icel. *rek*, 'drift, motion, a thing drifted'; *reka*, 'to drive.' The substantive *reek*, which also means mist, vapour, smoke, is to be traced to M. E. *rĕk*, A. S. *rēc*, and is connected with the idea of dimness.

✓l. 20. We see from Bunyan's words how well qualified he was to

describe terrifying dreams from his own experience. 'Even in my childhood the Lord did scare and affright me with fearful dreams and terrify me with dreadful visions. I should be greatly afflicted and troubled with the thoughts of the Day of Judgment, and that both night and day, and should tremble at the thoughts of the fearful torments of hell fire.'—*Grace Abounding*, §§ 5, 6, p. 298.

P. 38, l. 9. *Every Fat must stand upon his own bottom.* A proverbial saying, signifying, 'Everybody must look to themselves,' 'You mind your business, and we will mind ours.' A *fat* is now spelt *vat*, and signifies a vessel of a large size to contain liquids. It is found in the A.V., Joel ii. 24, 'The *fats* shall overflow with wine and oil'; and iii. 13, 'The press is full, the *fats* overflow.' The word comes to us from the A.S. *fæt*, 'vessel, that which contains.'

l. 33. *Trespass.* This word is now usually employed for passing a fence or boundary, and entering on land which is the property of another, as in the familiar notice, 'Any person *trespassing* on this land will be prosecuted.' This meaning is the original one, from the Old French *trespasser*, to 'pass beyond,' Germ. *übertreten*, A.S. *ofer-stæppan*, answering both in derivation and meaning to 'transgress.' The wider signification is now antiquated. Of this we have repeated instances in the A.V. and Prayer Book, e.g. 'Forgive us our *trespasses*, as we forgive them that *trespass* against us'; 1 Sam. xxv. 28 'Forgive the *trespass* of thine handmaid'; Matt. xviii. 15 'If thy brother shall *trespass* against thee.'

✓ P. 39, l. 8. *And besides, said they, if we get into the way, what's matter which way we get in?* Coleridge remarks here, 'The allegory is clearly defective, inasmuch as "the way" represents two diverse meanings: (1) the outward profession of Christianity, and (2) the inward and spiritual grace. In this instance (and it is, I believe, the only one in the work) the allegory degenerates into a sort of pun, that is, in the two senses of the word "way," and thus supplies Formalist and Hypocrisy with an argument which Christian cannot fairly answer, or rather one to which Bunyan could not make his Christian return the proper answer without contradicting the allegoric image. For the obvious and only proper answer is: "No! you are not in the same 'way' with me though you are walking in the same road.'"'

l. 9. *What's matter which way we get in?* In modern language we should introduce the definite article, 'what is *the* matter,' or employ the verb instead of the substantive, 'what *matters* it?'

l. 27. *we tro.* See the note on l. 102 of the poetical introduction.

P. 40, l. 18. *the Hill Difficulty.* This hill was anonymous in the first edition. The name, which has become a household word, is one

of the many improvements introduced by Bunyan in the second edition.

ll. 19, 34. *there was two other ways*. 'The syntax here is scarcely logical, yet it is in accordance with historical usage. 'When a verb occurs as the *second word* in a sentence, and is preceded by such words as *it, that, what, where, here*, and the like, such a verb is usually employed in the *singular* number, irrespective of the number of the substantive which follows it. Examples of such usage are common, from the ninth century onwards.'—Professor Skeat, *Notes and Queries*, 9th s. v. p. 360. It is noteworthy that in *The Merchant of Venice* Shakespeare uses a *plural* verb followed by a *singular* substantive after *there*: 'There are a sort of men, whose visages do cream and mantle, like a standing pool.'—Act i. sc. 1. l. 88.

P. 41, l. 4. *a wide field full of dark Mountains*. 'Field' here means a stretch of open country, not fenced pasture, or agricultural land. The image is indefinite, but we must bear in mind that Bunyan was a native of Bedfordshire, and had never seen mountains in his life, and had little idea of what they were like. His scenery, when it went beyond the objects familiar to him in his native county, is all drawn from the Bible. The passage before us is borrowed from Jer. xiii. 16 'before your feet stumble upon the dark mountains.'

l. 10. *a pleasant Arbor*. *Arbor*, originally (*h*)*erber*, Anglo-French (*h*)*erber*, Old French (*h*)*erbier*, once meant a place covered with grass or herbage, a garden of herbs. *Erber* became *arber* by a change that was frequent with *-er* before a consonant, and in the end took the forms *arbor* and *arbour*. The final acceptance of these forms was probably brought about, to some degree, by the natural tendency to connect it with the Latin *arbor*, 'tree,' or the Italian *arborata*, 'bower.'

Ibid. marginal note. *A ward of grace*. A somewhat obscure expression. 'Ward' is used in the sense of a place of protection, and the phrase signifies a situation where God's grace guards His people. In Sturt's 'correct edition' it is metamorphosed into 'a word of grace.'

l. 21. Cf. Quarles, *Emblems*, bk. i, Emblem 7:

'Is this a time to steep

Thy brains in wasteful slumbers? Up and rouze

Thy leaden spirit: is this a time to sleep?

Adjourn thy sanguine dreams: awake, arise,

Call in thy thoughts.'

l. 25. *running against him amain*. 'With all their strength'; as we now say 'with might and main.' *Amain* is derived from the preposition *a*, a worn-down proclitic form of the Anglo-Saxon *an*, *on*, meaning *in*, *on*, *at*, and *main*, Anglo-Saxon *magn*, 'strength, power.' According

to the *New English Dictionary* the word was apparently formed as late as the sixteenth century, after the model of such words as *afoot*, &c.

1. 27. *what's the matter you run the wrong way?* This is sometimes mistakenly read as two sentences, the first interrogatory, the second declaratory. As it stands there is an ellipsis of 'that,' 'what is the matter *that* you run,' &c. Cf. John ix. 17.

P. 42, l. 20. *his foolish Fact*. A *fact*, from the Lat. *factum* (*facere*), signifies anything done, a deed, an act, in which sense it is used by Shakespeare; e.g. 'This *fact* was infamous,' 1 *Hen. IV.* iv. 1; 'A fouler *fact* did never traitor,' 2 *Hen. VI.* i. 2; and Milton:

'He who most excells in *fact* of arms.'

Paradise Lost, bk. ii. l. 124.

We have a survival of this meaning in *feat*, which is derived from *factum* through Old French.

1. 27. *if happily he might find his Roll*. *Happily* looks like a mistake for *haply*, 'by hap, or chance'; but all early editions are consistent in the present reading.

P. 43, l. 10. *under the Settle*. Under the *bench*. In A.S. we find *setl*, a seat. In the A.V. it is only found in Ezek. xliii. 14, &c., where it seems used for a kind of ledge or flat portion of the altar towards the base.

1. 12. *catch'd up*. An example of a weak preterite where the strong preterite *caught* has established itself. 'Caught' is not found in the A.V., but is not very infrequent in Shakespeare, though 'caught' is much more usual. It is also found in Milton, and in the classic pages of the *Spectator* (No. 524).

1. 13. *when he had gotten his Roll again*. 'Gotten' is the old form of the past participle of the verb *get*, which, though now nearly obsolete in the simple verb, is preserved in the compounds 'forgotten,' 'begotten,' 'ill-gotten.' It is the only form of the past participle known in the A.V., 'got' occurring only as the preterite.

A. 25. *doleful Creatures*. Borrowed by Bunyan from Isa. xliii. 21 'Their houses shall be full of all *doleful* creatures,' where the Hebrew *ochim* means 'groaners.'

1. 30. *how should I shift them?* 'Shift,' from the M.E. *schiften*, to 'divide, change, shift, remove'; A.S. *sciftan*, to 'divide.'

1. 33. *his unhappy miscarriage*. 'Miscarriage,' which is now much limited in sense, being chiefly used as a medical and judicial term, 'miscarriage of justice,' had formerly a much wider meaning, for anything that was carried or conveyed wrongly or unsuccessfully, and so any failure in duty. Thus South, quoted by Richardson, speaks of

'a failure or *miscarriage*' in resisting the assaults of Satan, and Bishop Porteus enforces the duty of 'reflecting on our past *miscarriages*.'

— l. 34. *a stately Palace . . . the name of which was Beautiful*. The reception of Christian at the Palace Beautiful appears to typify in Bunyan's allegory the admission of a new convert into a Christian Church, 'the house built for the entertainment of pilgrims.' The references to Church-life and to the Sacraments in Bunyan's allegory are very few and indistinct, but there can be no reasonable doubt that the sojourn at the 'Palace Beautiful' was intended by him to signify Christian's incorporation into a Church of believers, and his partaking of the Eucharist with them. Bunyan's 'Palace called Beautiful' furnishes sufficient points of resemblance to Spenser's 'House of Holiness' to warrant the belief, supported by several other passages, that he must have been acquainted with the *Faery Queene*.

✓ P. 45, l. 11. We are here again reminded of Spenser, *Faery Queene*, bk. i, c. x. 12.

P. 46, l. 34. The whole of this conversation between Charity and Christian relative to his wife and children, as far as p. 50, l. 8, was added in the second edition.

P. 49, l. 37. *I denied myself of sins . . . in which they saw no evil*. This was altered in the third and subsequent editions to '*things* in which they saw no evil.' The text gives the original reading of the second edition, in which this passage first occurs.

P. 50, l. 30. *He had stript himself of his glory that he might do this for the Poor*. The reference is to 2 Cor. viii. 9 and Phil. ii. 7.

P. 51, l. 11. The records of the Palace Beautiful, by which of course the Holy Scriptures are intended, may be compared with the 'Documents' of Spenser's 'House of Holiness,' *Faery Queene*, bk. i, c. x. 19, 20.

✓ P. 52, ll. 1, 2. *Sword, Shield, Helmet, Breast-plate, All Prayer, and Shoes that would not wear out*. See St. Paul's catalogue of the Christian armour, Eph. vi. 13-17, 1 Thess. v. 8 'The sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God'—'the shield of faith'—'the helmet of the hope of salvation'—'the breastplate of righteousness'—'the feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace'; also Deut. xxxiii. 25 'Thy shoes shall be iron and brass.'

ll. 8-15. Refer for Moses' rod to Exod. iv. 2-4, 17; vii. 10, 17, &c.; for Jael, Judges iv. 21; Gideon, Ib. vii. 16-22; Shamgar, Ib. iii. 31; Samson, Ib. xv. 15; David, 1 Sam. xvii. 49, 50; the Man of Sin, 2 Thess. ii. 3-8.

l. 22. *the delectable mountains*. This, like the Hill Difficulty, the Valley of Humiliation, Doubting Castle, is one of the happy expressions

with which Bunyan has enriched our language. No earlier example of its use has been pointed out. Solomon's Song presents a slight resemblance in 'the mountain of myrrh and the hill of frankincense,' iv. 6. 'Delectable' = 'alluring, enticing, delightful,' though now of infrequent use, except as an avowed archaism, and only once found in the A.V., 'their *delectable* things shall not profit,' Isa. xlv. 9, is by no means rare in our earlier literature.

'I wol not long hold you in fable
Of all this gardin *dilectable*.'

Chaucer, *Romaunt of the Rose*.

P. 53, l. 1. *what was of proof*. This phrase, denoting what had been proved by a severe test and had stood the trial, is not unusual in Shakespeare: e.g. 'his coat is *of proof*,' 2 *Hen. VI*, iv. 2; 'targe *of proof*,' *Cymbeline*, v. 5; 'passages *of proof*,' *Hamlet*, iv. 7. 'Proof' is derived through Middle-English, French, and Late Latin from the Latin *probare*, to 'test.'

l. 28. *a loaf of Bread, a bottle of Wine, and a cluster of Raisins*.

The Pilgrim's provision is borrowed from the O.T. Cf. 1 Sam. vi. 19, 1 Chron. xii. 40, 2 Sam. xvi. 1 'Two hundred loaves of bread, and an hundred bunches of raisins, and an hundred of summer fruits, and a bottle of wine.'

l. 33. *his name is Apollyon*. Rev. ix. 11 'The angel of the bottomless pit, whose name in the Hebrew tongue is Abaddon, but in the Greek tongue hath his name Apollyon.' *Ἀπολλύων*, Gr. = 'Destroyer,' identified with *Abaddon* = 'Destruction,' personified as the prince of the infernal regions.

P. 54, l. 9-11. The features of this description of Apollyon are, as is usual with Bunyan, borrowed from the Bible. Rev. xiii. 2 'His feet were as the feet of a bear, and his mouth as the mouth of a lion'; and Job xli. 15 (of leviathan, a favourite type of Satan) 'His scales are his pride, shut up together as with a close seal.' 'Feet like a bear' was first added in the second edition. With Bunyan's description of Apollyon we may compare Spenser's description of the Dragon, *Faery Queene*, bk. i. c. xl. 8-10.

l. 31. *I have let myself to another*. We should now prefer to say, 'I have *hired* myself.' To *let* is commonly used of things rather than persons among people of education.

P. 55, l. 5. *in my nonage*, i.e. in my minority, while still under age. So Shakespeare, *Richard III*, ii. 3:

'That in his *nonage* council under him,

No doubt, shall then and till then govern well.'

We have similar compounds in 'nonsense,' 'nonsuit.' Chaucer uses 'non-power' for impotence.

l. 19. *out of our hands*. So in the first edition. In the second and subsequent editions 'our' is altered into 'their,' which has no antecedent subject.

P. 56, l. 13. *the King's Highway*. Borrowed from Num. xxi. 17. In English law this is defined as '*Via Regis*, a free passage for the king's subjects, on which account it is called the king's highway, though the freehold of the soil belongs to the lord of the manor, or the owner of the land' (2 Inst. 705).

l. 15. *straddled*. In the first edition we have the less correct but more forcible provincial form 'strodled.' According to Professor Skeat, the word was formerly *striddle*; frequentative of *stride*.

P. 57, l. 14. *brast*. The reading of the first edition is retained, altered into 'burst' in the second and later editions. *Brast* is an archaic and dialectic preterite of the verb to *burst*. It is sometimes written *barst*. It is of constant occurrence in Old English; e.g. 'Judas . . . was hanged and to *brast* the myddil and alle hise entrailis weren shed abroad.'—Wiclif, *Acts* i. 18. 'The sun withdrew his lyght, the erth trembled and the rocks *braste* in sonder.'—Joyce, *Exposition of Daniel*, c. 5.

l. 31. *Then there came to him an hand, with some of the leaves of the Tree of Life*. Compare with Spenser, *Faery Queene*, bk. i. c. xi. 48.

P. 58, l. 5. *no other affront from Apollyon*. 'Affront' here means hostile encounter. It is derived through the French from *affrontā-re*, *adfrontā-re* from *ad-frontem*, 'to the face.' Both the verb and noun, now rarely employed except in relation to an insult or offence, were formerly used for any hostile encounter or assault. Thus Spenser, when Duessa's beast is encountered by the Squire 'sword in hand':

'The proud Duessa, full of wrathfull spight
And fiers disdaine, to be *affronted* so.'

Faery Queene, bk. i. c. viii. 13.

l. 18. *Children of them that brought up an evil report of the good Land*. The reference is to the spies sent out by Moses to survey the Land of Promise, who discouraged the Israelites by the report they brought back of the gigantic stature and warlike character of its inhabitants.—Num. xiii, xiv.

l. 35. *Hobgoblins, Satyrs, and Dragons of the Pit*. *Hob-goblin*, 'a mischievous imp or sprite,' is formed from *Hob*, a familiar by-form of *Rob* = *Robert*, and *goblin*; *F. gobelin*. *Satyrs* is borrowed from the Bible, Isa. xiii. 21 'Owls shall dwell there and *satyrs* shall dance

there.' Cf. Isa. xxxiv. 14, where the Hebrew word signifies 'hairy ones,' and probably refers to 'baboons' or 'apes.'

P. 59, l. 13. *a very dangerous Quag*. *Quag* (which we find more usually in the compound *quagmire*) and *quake* are kindred words. *Quag* is derived from the tremulous character of the ground when trodden on. M. E. *cwakkien*, A. S. *cwacian*, to quake. Allied to *quick*.

P. 60, l. 34. *I will fear none ill*. A quotation from Thomas Sternhold's version of Ps. xxiii:

'Yea though I walke in vaile of death
Yet will I fear none ill.'

P. 62, l. 6. We may compare with Pope and Pagan's cave Spenser's description of the Cave of Despair, *Faery Queene*, bk. I. c. ix. 33.

P. 63, l. 4. *the Avenger of Blood is behind me*. The reference is to the Jewish ordinance of the cities of refuge. 'Whoso killeth his neighbour ignorantly, whom he hated not in time past . . . he shall flee unto one of those cities, and live: lest the avenger of the blood pursue the slayer, while his heart is hot, and overtake him, because the way is long, and slay him.' Deut. xix. 4-6.

l. 7. *overrun him*, outrun him.

l. 27. *presently*, immediately, at the time then present. Cf. 1 Sam. ii. 16, 'Let them not fail to burn the fat *presently*'; Matt. xxvi. 53, 'He shall *presently* give Me more than twelve legions of angels.'

P. 64, l. 12. *set him on work*, to work.

l. 22. *he leered away*. To *leer* (from the A. S. *hlȳor*, the cheek, the face, the mien) is to look with a downcast eye; and so to slink away like one ashamed.

-P. 65, l. 3. The reference is to Joseph's temptation by Potiphar's wife, Gen. xxxix.

l. 17. *I tro*. I am sure.

✓ l. 29. *Adam the first*. An allegorical representation of the carnal nature of man, unrenewed by divine grace; 'The old man which is corrupt according to the lusts of deceit.' Eph. iv. 22.

P. 66, l. 13. *a slave*. 'Whosoever committeth sin is the slave of sin.' John viii. 34.

✓ l. 19. *a deadly twitch back*. This is intended by Bunyan to represent the strength of the natural desires of the heart, and the severity of the struggle between them and the renewed affections of the mind—'the flesh lusting against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh.' Gal. v. 17.

✓ A. 29. The passage that follows represents under an allegorical dress the strictness of the law of Moses, convincing of sin but making no

promise for its forgiveness, and the pardon of all offences through the sacrifice of the death of Christ.

1. 33. *strook*, struck. *Strook*, or *stroke*, is an old form of the preterite of to *strike*.

'And fiercely tooke his trenchand blade in hand
With which he *stroke* so furious and so fell.'

Faery Queene, bk. I. c. xi. 24.

P. 67, l. 3. *the holes in his hands and his side*.

"Hath He marks to lead me to Him,
If He be my Guide?"

"In His feet and hands are wound-prints.

And His side."

Dr. J. M'Neale, from the Greek.

P. 68, l. 16. *hectoring liberty*. 'Hector the brave son of Priam appears to have gained by tradition the undeserved character of a vain-glorious blusterer, a bully, a braggadocio, whence to *hector* comes to mean to bully, or bluster.' Richardson. 'But when huffing and *hectoring* must be looked upon as the only badges of gallantry and courage, what can recommend the exercise of patience against the disgrace of it?' South, *Sermons*, vol. x. serm. 4.

P. 70, l. 5. *Bravadoes*, boasts, brags, blusters. French *bravade*, Italian *bravata*. The masculine suffix *ado*, adopted from the Spanish or Portuguese, has not infrequently been used in English to refashion substantives which should end in *-ade* (adopted from the French *ade*, which is feminine = Sp. *-ada*, It. *-ata*). Ambuscade, for instance, was generally *ambuscado* in the seventeenth century.

P. 78, l. 1. *notwithstanding his fine tongue, he is but a sorry fellow*. Cf. Bunyan's description of the Pharisee: 'He goes on boldly, fears nothing, but trusteth to himself that his state is good: he hath his mouth full of many fine things, whereby he strokes himself over the head, and calls himself one of God's white boys that like the Prodigal's brother never transgressed.' *Pharisee and Publican*.

1. 3. *a very pretty man*. In Anglo-Saxon *prættig* meant cunning, guileful. Hence it came to signify clever, pleasing in appearance, although it is still often used in a depreciatory sense.

1. 16. *his crown*, his head. 'Thou hadst little wit in thy bald *crown*, when thou gavest thy golden one away,' says the Fool to Lear (*King Lear*, i. 4).

1. 29. *the brute in his kind*. In the earlier editions up to the tenth this is spelt *bruit*. By a curious typographical error all Sturt's 'very correct editions' have 'the brewer.'

1. 35. *he is such a churl*. The Anglo-Saxon *ceorl* (cf. the Icelandic

karl, a man) usually meant a free man of the lowest class. Thus it came to signify boor. This depreciatory sense was acquired very early. We find in Chaucer:

‘For vilains sinful deedes make a *churl*.’

Wife of Bath’s Tale, v. 6740.

‘So high a *cherlish* wretchednesse

Ageyns fraunchise and alle gentillesse.’

Frankleyn’s Tale, v. 11,827.

l. 36. *so unreasonable with his Servants*. Talkative neglected the counsel of the Son of Sirach, ‘Be not a lion in thy house, nor frantick among thy servants.’ Ecclus. iv. 30.

P. 74, l. 30. *The Soul of Religion is the practick part*, i.e. the practical as opposed to the theoretical. Thus Shakespeare speaks of ‘the *practick* part of life,’ *Henry V*, i. 1. Spenser uses the word in a bad sense for tricky, cf.

‘In cunning sleights and *practick* knavery.’

Faery Queene, bk. II. c. iii. 9.

P. 75, l. 8. *This brings to my mind that of Moses*. Bunyan, though he was probably quite ignorant of it, had good patristic precedent for this quaint spiritualizing of the Levitical ordinance. Theodoret and other Fathers quoted by Bishop Wordsworth (*Commentary* in loc.), hold ‘that in this combination of parting the hoof and chewing the cud’ the union of the moral and spiritual qualities is supposed to be symbolized, viz. sure walking in the way of God’s law, and meditation upon it. . . . Spiritual meditation and holy living are both necessary.’ Bunyan’s fancy was evidently caught by this allegorizing. He introduces it several times, especially *Grace Abounding*; § 71, p. 316.

l. 20. *sounding Brass, and Tinkling Cymbals*. ‘Just thus it is with him who has gifts but wants grace. Shall I be proud because I am sounding brass? Is it so much to be a fiddle? Hath not the least creature that hath life in it more of God than these?’ *Grace Abounding*, § 297–300, p. 386.

P. 76, l. 27. *You lie at the catch*, i.e. You are lying in wait to catch me in my words and trip me up. ‘This is doing things with a high hand against the Lord our God, and a taking Him as it were *at the catch*. This is, as we say among men, to seek to put a trick upon God. *Jerusalem Sinner Saved*.

P. 70, l. 14. *some peevish, or melancholy Man*. *Peevish* now only stands for fretful, petulant. Its old meaning was wider—capricious, selfwilled, harsh, intractable. ‘Impracticable’ would seem to be its meaning here. ‘A peevish fellow is one who has some reason in himself for being out of humour, or has a natural incapacity for delight,

and therefore disturbs all who are happier than himself.' *Spectator*, No. 438.

l. 33. *do stumble the World*, i.e. cause the world to stumble; are a scandal to it in the true sense of the word, viz. a stumbling-block which trips one up. Richardson quotes 'This stumbles me' from Beaumont and Fletcher. 'Stumble' was altered into 'puzzle'—a much feebler word—in the second and later editions.

P. 80, l. 11. All from this point to p. 82, l. 10, containing the interview with Evangelist, was first added in the second edition. Evangelist's address to the pilgrims is drawn from Bunyan's own bitter experience of persecution.

l. 19. *peace be to your helpers*. An adaptation of the words of Amasai to David, 1 Chron. xii. 18.

P. 81, l. 36. *will strain hard but they will kill you*. *But* is here used to mean without. M. E. *būten*, *būt*, *būt*, outside, without, except, unless, but. A.S. *būton*, *būtan*, *būte*, outside, without, free from, except. The sentence is elliptical, 'They will strain hard and not be content without they kill you.'

✓ P. 82, l. 14. *Vanity-Fair*. 'Vanity Fair is the City of Destruction in its gala dress, in its most seductive and sensual allurements. It is this world in miniature with its various temptations.' Cheever.

l. 21. *five thousand years ago*. *Ago*, *agon*, and *agone* are all forms of the past participle of the old English verb *ago*, to go, pass away. According to the *New English Dictionary*, the full form *agone* had been contracted to *ago* in some dialects long before this usage became accepted, in end of the fourteenth century. *Agone* is now an archaic, poetic, and dialectic variant.

l. 23. *Beelzebub, Apollyon, and Legion*. Bunyan evidently wrote in ignorance of the meaning of 'Legion,' and supposed it to be one of the Scriptural appellations of the Evil One. The reference is to Mark v. 9, Luke viii. 30.

l. 26. Bunyan's description of Vanity Fair in this and the following paragraphs gives a true picture, bating the allegorical details, of the larger fairs of England, such as Bartholomew Fair in Smithfield, and Sturbridge Fair near Cambridge. These, especially the latter, for the time they lasted assumed the form and dimensions of a town, laid out in streets and rows, and divided into quarters devoted to the sale of goods of the same kind. The particulars gleaned by Hone in his delightful 'Everyday Book' enable us to see how true Bunyan's description was to life.

P. 83, l. 20. *this lusty Fair*. 'Lusty' = joyous, mirthful, pleasant; A. S. *lust*, pleasure, desire; Germ. *lustig*, merry, jovial.

P. 84, l. 7. *Bedlams*, i.e. madmen. 'Bedlam' is contracted and corrupted from Bethlehem. The priory of St. Mary of Bethlehem outside Moorgate in London, having been incorporated as a royal foundation for the reception of lunatics in 1547, 'Bethlem,' or 'Bedlam,' came to be used first for any receptacle for mad people, and then for the persons themselves. It is not unfrequent in Shakespeare; sometimes as a substantive, more frequently as an adjective.

Ib. *Outlandish-men*, foreigners, as in Nehem. xii. 26, 'outlandish women.' 'Outland' is the land external to, separate from, one's own country, a foreign land; and 'outlandish' is anything belonging to such a land, foreign. It was in constant use in this sense in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Compare with the German *Ausland*, a foreign country; *Ausländer*, a foreigner; *ausländisch*, foreign, strange. *Outlandish* has now the meaning of strange, unusual, odd, among people who prefer vigorous home-spun English to refined diction.

1. 10. *the Language of Canaan*. See Isa. xix. 18.

1. 12. *they seemed Barbarians each to the other*, borrowed by Bunyan from 1 Cor. xiv. 11, 'If I know not the meaning of the voice, I shall be unto him that speaketh a barbarian, and he that speaketh shall be a barbarian unto me.' It is not probable that Bunyan had any knowledge of the true classical sense of 'barbarian,' one who speaks a different language from another.

1. 21. *the carriages of the men*, their behaviour. See note, p. 12, l. 13.

1. 32. *So the men were brought to examination*. This also is true to life. At every large fair there was a court of justice called the 'Piepowder Court,' where a ready justice was administered for offences committed in the fair. This court took its name from the *Pieds Pouldreux*, or *Dustyfeet*, as the pedlars and travelling merchants were called; its original purpose being to settle any disputes that might arise between them and their customers.

P. 85, l. 1. *to let them in their Journey*, to hinder them; from the A. S. *lettan*, to hinder, to make late. Cf. 'Sore let and hindered,' Collect for Fourth Sunday in Advent; 'I was let hitherto,' Rom. i. 3; 'I'll make a ghost of him that lets me,' *Hamlet*, i. 4.

1. 18. *let fly at them*, abused them. Cf. Ps. lxiv. 3, 'Who shoot out their arrows, even bitter words.'

1. 25. *Pillory*, a mode of punishment by public exposure, very familiar to our forefathers, but happily unknown to the present generation, having been finally abolished by Act of Parliament in 1837. It consisted of a wooden screen of two or more horizontal sliding boards, raised on a platform several feet from the ground. In the boards there were circular holes through which the culprit's head and hands were passed,

he himself standing behind it, his face being exposed in front of it, a mark for the pelting of the mob.

P. 86, ll. 10-19. First introduced in the second edition.

l. 15. *the best on't*, the best of it. *On* was formerly, as it still is in the speech of the lower orders, used for *of*, especially in rapid speech. Cf. 'He shall hear on't,' Ben Jonson, *Every Man in his Humour*; Abbott, *Shakespearian Grammar*, § 90.

l. 21. *in order to their Condemnation*. We are reminded here of the fate of the Abbot of Glastonbury. 'Among loose papers of Cromwell still remaining there is a memorandum in his own hand for "the trial and execution" of the Abbot of Glastonbury.' Froude, *History of England*, iii. 246, ed. 1870.

P. 87, l. 8. *Pickthank* = a flatterer, one who by base arts seeks to curry favour, or to *pick* occasions for getting *thanks*. Shakespeare couples together 'smiling *pickthanks* and base newsmongers,' *1 Henry IV*, iii. 2. Nares quotes from Fairfax :

'With pleasing tales his lord's vain ears he fed,
A flatterer, a *pickthank*, and a liar.'

P. 88, l. 27. 'Nothing can be more masterly than the satire contained in this trial. The judge, the witnesses, the jury, are portraits sketched from the life, and finished every one of them in quick, concise, and graphic touches. The ready testimony of Envy is especially characteristic. Rather than that anything should be wanting that might be necessary to dispatch the prisoners he would enlarge his testimony against them to any requisite degree. The language and deportment of the judge are a copy to the life of some of the infamous judges under Charles II and James II, especially Judge Jeffreys. The report of the trial of Algernon Sidney contains the abusive language of the Judge against Faithful almost word for word.' Cheever. The trial of Richard Baxter, and Jeffreys' behaviour to him, affords another almost exact parallel. Macaulay, *Hist. of England*, vol. i. p. 492.

l. 28. *Thou Runagate*. Middle English *renegat*, a renegade, one who has denied his faith, which by a mistake as to its derivation came to be used in the sense of a runaway (cf. Ps. lxxviii. 6, Prayer Book). 'I wyll not playe the runagate and goe euerywhere but I returne agayne to my fater.' Udal's *Erasmus*, quoted in 'Bible Word-book.' The word comes through Old French and Low Latin, from the Latin *re*, again, and *negare*, to deny.

P. 89, l. 10. *profit to Eternal life*. Improperly altered to 'profitable' in the eighth edition, and continued in subsequent editions.

l. 13. *Rabblement*. A badly-formed word, *rabble* being Teutonic

(Old Dutch *rabbelen*, provincial German *rabbeln*, to chatter), and *ment* Latin.

P. 90, l. 15. *A sorry Scrub*. Scrub, A. S. *scrob*, a shrub, is used for the low undergrowth of woods, only profitable for firing, and thence it comes to be employed for anything small, mean, and contemptible. In Shakespeare we have 'a little scrubbed boy.' *Merchant of Venice*, v. 1.

l. 31. *a Chariot and a couple of Horses*. Borrowed from the ascension of Elijah, 2 Kings ii. 11.

P. 91, l. 2. *respit*, properly a time for reviewing a matter (tempus respiciendi); O. F. *respit*, a respite. Original sense regard, respect had to a suit on the part of a judge; Latin *respectum*, acc. of *respectus*, a looking at.

— l. 27. *By-ends*. The name has become so naturalized that its meaning is almost overlooked. 'By-end' is an object lying aside from the main one; a secret, selfish, purpose. 'Are there not many *by-ends* in duties?' Flavel, *Touchstone of Sincerity*, p. 36.

l. 34. *what may I call you?* i. e. what is your name? In many parts of England, e. g. Lincolnshire, 'they call him *M.* or *N.*' is always used for 'his name is *M.* or *N.*' This use is old. In the *New English Dictionary* we find '1330 R. Brunne *Chron.* 42 Ane erle in þe North Uctfed men kalde.'

P. 92, ll. 7-11. First introduced in the second edition.

l. 21. *to carry it*, to behave. Cf. 'carriage,' for 'behaviour,' p. 12, l. 13.

P. 93, l. 7. *to jump in my Judgment with*, to agree with, to fall in with. 'In some sort it *jumps* with my humour,' Shakespeare, 1 *Henry IV*, i. 2. 'I will not *jump* with common spirits,' *Merchant of Venice*, ii. 9.

l. 32. The whole of this interview between By-ends and his companions, which contains some of Bunyan's most striking flashes of genius, was first inserted in the third edition.

l. 36. *a very low Congee*, a bow; originally a bow at taking one's leave. Derived through Middle English and Old French from Latin *commedtus*, leave to pass; hence leave of absence.

P. 94, l. 5. *cousenage*, cheating, more usually spelt *cozenage*. Its derivation is still uncertain. It has generally been compared with French *cousiner*, to play the parasite under pretext of cousinship. 'Christ was to be a light to the Gentiles; and there is no *cozenage* in the night, no fallacy in the day.' South, vol. xi. serm. 3.

l. 30. *at a clap*, at one stroke, without any delay; as the saying is, 'A word and a blow.' 'What! fifty of my followers *at a clap*.' Shakespeare, *King Lear*, i. 4.

P. 98, l. 12. *dissenting*, there is no variation in the reading till the ninth edition, when we find 'dissering.' Neither yields a satisfactory sense. 'Dissembling' would seem the more appropriate word.

P. 97, l. 19. *a stalking horse*, a real or artificial horse employed by fowlers to conceal the person of the sportsman, and enable him to get within shot of his game. We have in the old play of *The Malcontent*, 'A fellow that makes religion his *stalking horse*.'

l. 21. *Witches*. Not formerly restricted to female practisers of magical arts. In the next page, p. 98, l. 3, we have 'Simon the *witch*,' i.e. Simon Magus, Acts viii. 19. 'He is a *witch* asking counsel at soothsayers.' Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, quoted by Trench, *Select Glossary*. 'Witch' has been ignorantly altered in Southey's and other modern editions into 'wizard.' In some English counties it is still both masculine and feminine.

l. 37. *Judas the Devil*. From John vi. 70, 71, 'One of you is a devil. He spake of Judas Iscariot.'

P. 98, l. 24. The interpolated passage ends here.

l. 26. *a delicate Plain*. 'Delicate' had a much wider meaning formerly than now, signifying generally that which was pleasant or agreeable.

P. 99, l. 1. *I will shew you a thing*. Borrowed from 1 Sam. xiv. 12.

l. 24. *Christian roundly answered*. Marg. note, *Christian roundleth up Demas*. 'Round' is used both as an adjective and a verb for free, frank speaking, without reserve or disguise. Thus in Shakespeare, 'Your reproof is something too *round*,' *Henry V*, iv. 1.

l. 27. *one of his Majesty's Judges*, i.e. the apostle Paul, who however does not explicitly condemn Demas, but simply states the fact of his having left him from worldly motives. 'Demas hath forsaken me, having loved this present world,' 2 Tim. iv. 10.

P. 100, l. 17. All this narrative concerning the pillar of Lot's wife concluding p. 102, l. 9, was first introduced in the second edition.

l. 21. *a Woman transformed into the shape of a Pillar*. It was the common belief in the Middle Ages that the pillar of Lot's wife was still to be seen. 'At the right side of the Dead Sea the wife of Lot still stands in likeness of a salt stone, because she looked behind her when the cities sunk into hell.' Sir John Maundeville's *Travels* ch. ix.

l. 29. *Remember Lot's Wife*. 'I have fancy'd that Lot's wife, when turned into a pillar of salt, stood yet looking over her shoulder, or else with her face towards Sodom. As the Judgement caught her, so it bound her, and left her a monument of God's anger to after generations. Bunyan, *Barren Fig Tree*, p. 102.

P. 101, l. 32. *cut Purses*. The purse was anciently worn hanging at

the girdle, and it was easy to cut it open in a crowd and steal its contents.

'By her girdle hung a purse of leather
Tasselled with silk and perlid with latoun
(*latten*, a mixed metal, bronze). Chaucer, *Miller's Tale*.

P. 102, l. 21. *Surfeits*. Old French *surfait*, excess; orig. past partic. of *sorfaire*, to augment, from Lat. *super*, above; *facere*, to make.

l. 22. *curiously beautified*. Through Old French from Lat. *cūriōsus*, 'full of care or pains.' The word has been used with many shades of meaning. In Ps. cxxxix. 15 we have 'curiously wrought in the lowest parts of the earth' applied to the contexture of the human body. Aldis Wright, *Bible Word-book*.

l. 34. *soon sell all*. Cf. Matt. xiii. 44, the parable of the treasure hid in the field.

P. 103, l. 5. *by reason of their Travels*. It is difficult to say whether Bunyan meant *travail*, pain, or *travel*, journey; both well suit the passage. The two words were not formerly distinguished in spelling.

l. 10. *By-Path-Meadow*. 'An American would never understand the passage about Christian and Hopeful going astray along a by-path into the grounds of Giant Despair, from there being no stiles or by-paths in our country.' Hawthorne, *English Note Book*, i. 147.

l. 17. *That's not like*, likely, probable. So Jerem. xxxviii. 9, 'He is like to die for hunger.'

P. 104, l. 12. *eminent danger*. This has been changed unwarrantably in the later editions into 'imminent,' which is the more usual epithet.

P. 105, l. 16. *a very dark Dungeon, nasty and stinking*. It is to be feared that Bunyan drew from his own painful experiences in his description of the pilgrims' prison. A century later, when the philanthropic Howard began his tour of inspection, our prisons corresponded too nearly to it.

l. 24. The account of the imprisonment of the pilgrims in Doubting Castle was very brief in the first edition, the whole account of Mrs. Diffidence and her counsels, and the Giant's treatment of his prisoners, being wanting, up to p. 108, l. 33. As in the case of *Worldly Wiseman* and *By-ends*' travelling companions, we are indebted to Bunyan's second thoughts for one of the most graphic parts of his work, bearing the stamp of original genius. This part of the narrative has all the particularity of a diary.

P. 106, l. 1. *condole their misery*. See p. 12, l. 17, note p. 437.

l. 17. *sun-shine weather*, sunshiny, to which it was altered in the ninth and subsequent editions; the words were omitted, probably by accident, in the second edition. 'Sunshine' is used adjectively in

Shakespeare, 'Send him many years of sunshine days,' *Richard II*, iv. 1; and again, 'A sunshine day,' 3 *Henry VI*, ii. 1. In Milton, too, we find 'sunshine holiday,' *Comus*, l. 959; *L'Allegro*, l. 98.

l. 21. With this whole passage in which suicide is urged by Despair, we may compare Spenser's stanzas, bk. I. ch. ix. 36, 41, 50.

l. 34. *to kill body and soul at once*. Bunyan writes of the jailer at Philippi, On Justification, 'Even now, while the earthquake shook the prison, he had murder in his heart: murder, I say, and that of a high nature, even to have killed his own body and soul at once.'

P. 107, l. 25. *a Swound*. *Swound* is merely another form of *swoon*. M. E. *swōgen*, to sough (as the wind), to swoon; *swōgne*, a swoon. A. S. *swōgan*, to sigh (as the wind), of which the pp. *geswōgen* has the meaning of 'in a swoon.' The addition of *d* after an *n* preceded by a strong accent is of frequent occurrence in English. See Skeat's *Principles of English Etymology*, vol. i, p. 370. Compare with *sound*, a noise, in which the final *d* is also added. M. E. *soun*, F. *son*, L. *sonum*, acc. of *sonus*, a sound.

P. 108, l. 21. *to your Den again*. For the use of *den* for a prison, see note on p. 436. In the *Holy War*, when describing the several regiments of the 'army of terrible doubters' sent against Mansoul, Bunyan speaks of 'Captain Damnation' being over the 'Grace doubters.' 'His were the red colours: Mr. No-life bore them: his scutcheon was the *Black Den*.'

P. 109, l. 7. Much of the description of the opening of the doors and gates of Doubting Castle is borrowed from the history of St. Peter's deliverance from prison, Acts xii. 10.

l. 21. *they consented to erect*, agreed to erect. 'Consent' has only in modern times acquired the meaning of half unwilling acquiescence it now sometimes bears.

l. 31. *Lest heedlessness, &c.* This line was omitted in the tenth and subsequent editions by a typographical error, this and the following line beginning with 'Lest.'

P. 111, l. 4. *to be acquainted with us*. The reading of the first edition is *to acquaint with us*. In the *N. E. D.* we find '1774 H. Walpole *Corresp.* (1837) III. 111 Though the Choiseuls will not *acquaint* with you.'

l. 5. *the good*. Used as a substantive, as in 1 Chron. xxix. 3, 'of mine own proper good.'

l. 15, margin. *They are shewn wonders*. There can be no reasonable doubt from the text of the narrative, 'Shall we *shew* these pilgrims some wonders,' that *shewn* is the correct reading, although all editions up to 1727 read '*sure* wonders,' which gives no appropriate sense.

Mr. Ofor upholds *sure*, remarking, 'The author's meaning appears to be that those wonders were real, undoubted, sure.'

P. 112, l. 10. *did put out their eyes*. 'O the unthought-of imaginations, frights, fears, and terrors, that are effected by a thorough application of guilt yielding to desperation. This is the man that hath his dwelling among the tombs with the dead, that is always crying out and cutting himself with stones.' *Grace Abounding*, § 184.

l. 22. *a rumbling noise*. 'Lumbring' in the first edition, a word we find in the same connexion in the Second Part, p. 177, l. 25, 'when he heard your *lumbring* noise.'

l. 28. *Alexander*, the coppersmith, who 'greatly withstood' St. Paul's 'words.' 2 Tim. iv. 14, 15.

P. 113, l. 9, margin. *The Shepherds Perspective glass*. First added in the second edition. A 'perspective glass' is a glass to see through (*perspicere*), either a telescope or a microscope; here, of course, the former is intended. Milton uses 'prospective glass' in *A Vacation Exercise in the College*, l. 71 (*prospicere*, to look forward).

P. 114, l. 27. *out-go him*, outstrip, walk faster than another. Mark vi. 33, 'the people *outwent* them.' 'He *outgoes* the very heart of kindness.' Shakespeare, *Timon of Athens*, i. 1.

P. 115, l. 6. *carrying of him back*. The full construction would be 'a-carrying,' i.e. in the carrying of him back. 'Of' naturally followed a verbal noun. In many cases we should call the verbal noun a participle, and the *of* has become unintelligible to us.

l. 32. *white as a Clout*. See note on p. 434, to line 147 of the poetical introduction.

l. 38. *strook*, a once common form of the preterite *struck*. So Dryden:

'He like a patient angler ere he *strook*,
Would let them play awhile upon the hook.'

Astraea Redux, 171.

P. 116, l. 8. *to scabble on his way*. 'Scabble' has been unwarrantably replaced by *scramble* in some later editions, *scramble* being the nasalized form of the word. They are frequentatives of *scrape*, prov. E. *scrapple*, frequent. of *scrape*. Bunyan uses it again in his *Grace Abounding*, § 334, p. 395. In the only place where it occurs in the A. V. 'he' (David) *scabbled* on the doors of the gate,' 1 Sam. xxi. 13, it stands for 'scribbled' or 'scrawled.'

l. 14. *his spending Money*. Bunyan develops the distinction drawn here between Littlefaith's 'spending money' and his 'jewels' in his *Grace Abounding*, p. 367, § 232.

P. 117, l. 8. *poor heart*, once a common expression for an object of

commiseration, as *dear heart* was, and *sweetheart* is still, for an object of affection.

l. 18. *upon whose head is the Shell*, and p. 118, l. 29. 'To talk like one who has got the shell on his head' is still used as a proverbial expression for one who speaks without understanding a matter. Lapwings and some other birds 'of the brisker sort' are said to be able to move about the moment they are hatched, before they have got themselves free from the shell. Shakespeare uses the simile,

'This lapwing runs away with the shell on his head.'

Hamlet, v. 2.

And Bishop Hall, 'These lapwings that go from under the wing of their dam with their shell on their heads run wild.' *Sayings concerning Travellers*, No. vii.

lb. margin. *Christian snibbeth his fellow*. *Snib, sneb* are other forms of the modern *snub*, to check, to put down, to rebuke. M. E. *snibben, snubben*, to reprove. The word is Scandinavian in origin, the root-idea being to *snip* off the end of a thing; allied to the obsolete English *sneap*, to pinch, to nip. We have it in Chaucer, one of the merits of whose Parson it is that—

'But it were eny persone obstinat,
What so he were, of high or lowe estat,
Him wolde he *snybbe* sharply for the nones.'

Prologue, 521-523.

l. 28. *why art thou so tart*, sharp, from the A. S. *teart*, severe, tart: 'very tart vinegar,' Sir T. Elyot; 'a little tart against the Wiclifites,' Fuller; 'the tart reply,' Cowper. (Richardson.)

l. 34. *that Caitiff did*. *Caitiff* now denotes one of a base abject disposition. Originally it meant no more than 'captive.' Old Northern French *caitif, caitive*, captive, weak, miserable; Latin *captivum*, captive. Aristarchus, St. Paul's fellow-prisoner, appears in Wiclif's version as 'Aristarch myne evene *caytyf*' (*concaptivus meus*, Vulg.), and we find in Holland's *Plutarch*, 'Avarice doth tyrannize over her *caitiff*-slaves.'

P. 118, l. 37. *have stood one brush with them*. A brush is a short but smart encounter. Cf. 'the brushes of the war,' *Troilus and Cressida*, v. 3.

P. 119, l. 9. *Journeyman-Thieves*, not master thieves robbing on their own account, but serving under another. A 'journeyman,' Fr. *journalier*, is one who works by the day. *Journeywork* is work done by the day, not by the job.

l. 25. *I tro*. I believe, I warrant you. See note, p. 433, l. 102.

P. 120, l. 1. *throw up his heels*, trip up his heels. A metaphor taken

from wrestling. 'Young Orlando that *tripped* the wrestler's heel,' *As You Like It*, iii. 2.

l. 5. *he should say*, was reported to have said, like the Germ. *sollen*, to be reported.

l. 8. *Heman*, the psalmist, grandson of the prophet Samuel, to whom Psalm lxxxviii. is ascribed. The printers, not being acquainted with the name, altered it to the more familiar *Haman* in the third and later editions. More recent editors, Southey not excepted, somewhat startled at finding *Haman* transformed into one of the champions of faith, have with much ingenuity and more audacity substituted the name of Mordecai, to whom the description is hardly more appropriate. The change occurs in an edition by D. Bunyan, 1768.

l. 15. *their King is at their Whistle*, ready to come to their aid when they whistle for him.

✓ P. 122, l. 2. *a man black of flesh*. This incident of the Flatterer 'leading the Pilgrims out of the way is one of the most obscure in the whole book. The editors generally have not troubled themselves to suggest any rational interpretation of it. The variation in their spiritual interpretations show how difficult they have found it.

l. 12. *within the compass of a Net*, so as to be surrounded by a net.

P. 124, l. 27. *I will round you in the ears*. *Roun*, or *round*, to whisper. M. E. *rounen*, to whisper, A. S. *rūnian*, to whisper; *rūn*, mystery, secret.

P. 125, l. 13. *take a Nap*. M. E. *nappen*, to have a nap, a sleep; A. S. *hnappian*, to doze, to sleep.

✓ l. 35. The account of Hopeful's conversion given in the subsequent conversation may be safely regarded as a description of Bunyan's own spiritual experience. It may be instructively compared with the narrative in *Grace Abounding*.

• P. 128, l. 16. *I still see sin, new sin*. Compare the words of Bishop Beveridge, *Private Thoughts on Religion*, article iv.

l. 19. *sin enough in one duty*. The word 'duty' has been altered into 'day' by modern editors, without the slightest warrant. Bunyan's meaning is that religious duties may become occasions of sin.

P. 129, l. 19. *Jesus his inditing*. An example of the false theory of the origin of the 's of the possessive case, which was accepted as certainly true from Ben Jonson to Addison's time, viz. that it was a contraction from *his*. Familiar instances of this mistaken construction are, 'Jesus Christ *his* sake,' Prayer for all conditions of men; 'Asa *his* heart,' 1 Kings xv. 14.

✓ P. 130, l. 29. *My grace is sufficient for thee*. We are here reading Bunyan's own spiritual experience. See *Grace Abounding*, § 206, p. 359.

✓ P. 132, l. 3. *I take my pleasure in walking alone.* It is impossible to read this conversation between 'Young Ignorance' and the Pilgrims without being strongly reminded of Shakespeare's 'Slender' in the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, i. 1, 'I pray you, sir, walk in. *Slend.* I had rather walk here, I thank you,' &c. &c.

l. 36. *Ask my Fellow if I be a Thief*, a proverbial expression, derived from one member of a company of thieves appealing to another to testify to his honesty.

P. 133, l. 28. *our thoughts of our hearts and ways.* The first *our* has been most unwarrantably altered in the modern editions into *the*, to the perversion of the sense.

P. 134, l. 34. *a Fantastical Faith*, a faith whose seat is merely in the fantasy, a fancy.

P. 135, l. 17. *tolerate us*, allow us, permit us to live. We should now write '*tolerate our living as we list.*'

l. 18. *as we list*, as we like, please. M. E. *lūsten*, *listen*, be pleasing; (with refl. dat.) delight, be pleased; A. S. *lystan*, to desire, used impersonally. 'The wind bloweth where it *listeth*,' John iii. 8.

l. 38. *so many whimsies*, capricious fancies.

P. 136, l. 28. *It pities me much.* 'There are many more impersonal verbs in early English than in Elizabethan, and in Elizabethan than in modern English.' Abbott, *Shakespearean Grammar*, § 147. 'Thy servants think upon her stones: it *pitieth* them to see her in the dust,' Ps. cii. 14, Prayer Book. Compare 'It repenteth me,' Gen. vi. 7, 1 Sam. xv. 11; 'It grieved him at his heart,' Gen. vi. 6. 'It pities me' may still be heard in Lincolnshire.

P. 140, l. 36. *Country of Beulah.* 'Thou shalt be called Hephzi-bah (my delight is in her) and thy land Beulah (married).' Is. lxii. 4.

~~P. 141, l. 2. *the voice of the Turtle*, the gentle cooing of the turtle-dove. Cant. ii. 12.~~

P. 142, l. 12. *they addressed themselves to go up*, prepared themselves, made themselves ready to go up. Fr. *adresser*, late pop. L. *addirectiō-re*, to make straight, or right, from *directum*, straight, right.

l. 34. *were much stounded.* Altered in the second and later editions into *stun'd*. It is another form of *astounded*, from *astound*, which is a phonetic development of M. E. *astoned*, *astun'd*, astounded, stunned; connected probably with the O. F. *estone-r*, to stun, amaze.

l. 38. *Enoch and Elijah*, both of whom it will be remembered were translated, for God 'took' Enoch, and Elijah 'went up by a whirlwind into heaven.'

P. 144, l. 17. *the enemy was after that as still as a stone*, &c. Borrowed from the Song of Moses, Exod. xv. 16.

1. 37. Dr. Arnold's admiration of this closing scene was very great. 'I cannot trust myself,' he used to say, 'to read the account of Christian going up to the Celestial Gate after his passage through the river of death.' Stanley's *Life*, vol. ii, p. 67, note.

P. 145, l. 13. From this place to *be expressed*, l. 5, p. 147, was first inserted in the second edition.

✓ P. 147, l. 1. *the Bells therein to ring*. It will be remembered that in his youth Bunyan was much devoted to bell-ringing, the music of which continued greatly to delight him after he had given up the practice as 'vain.' *Grace Abounding*, § 53, p. 305.

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